

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
International  
**socialist**  
INSIDE

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and William Hinton

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## Andrew Young in South Africa: What's he up to?



With circus-like fanfare, the Carter administration is staging a major theatrical production to derail the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa.

## Editorial

Surrounded by a whirl of controversy, United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young was dispatched to Africa to meet with heads of state and leaders of liberation groups.

As a side attraction, Vice-president Walter Mondale was sent to Vienna May 19 for a high-level, "tough talking" meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

The Carter administration is trying to pawn off this diplomatic charade as proof of its "new Africa policy."

But in reality nothing about it is new:

- Sporting his credentials as a former civil rights activist, Young counseled leaders of the African liberation struggles on the merits of moderation.

- Addressing a gathering of 200 South African businessmen, Young recited the virtues of "the free market

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**SWP FIGHT FOR DISCLOSURE LAW EXEMPTION:** On May 17 the Socialist Workers party took another step in its struggle to win exemption from federal campaign disclosure laws. The laws require the party to turn over the names of contributors who give \$100 or more to the socialists' election campaigns.

The SWP submitted thousands of pages documenting unconstitutional government harassment of its members and supporters to the Federal Election Commission. A federal district court has ordered the FEC to consider the socialists' harassment claims and determine by July 17 whether the SWP should be exempted.

The Associated Press sent out a dispatch on the socialists' request. It reported New York SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza's explanation of the May 17 filing: "The Socialist Workers' campaigns must not be forced to turn over to the government a ready-made 'enemies' list," Garza is quoted as saying.

## Inquiry probes murder by Houston cops

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—The Independent Barrio Commission has been launched here to investigate the brutal police murder of Joe Torres. Torres, twenty-three, died May 5 after police beat him and then threw him into the Buffalo Bayou.

Police are under heavy pressure from the outrage over this latest example of racist brutality against Blacks and Chicanos.

One cop has been charged with murdering Torres. He and four others have been fired, and another has been temporarily suspended. The cops now claim they have formed their own "internal affairs department" to investigate themselves.

In addition, Mayor Fred Hofheinz has asked for a grand jury investigation. The district attorney says he is cooperating with the mayor and U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen to get an FBI and Justice Department investigation. A Chicano student group has announced the formation of a "citizens review board." The state legislature has announced an "interim committee" that will investigate Torres's death. And the Torres family is filing a civil lawsuit for damages against the Houston police.

More than 200 people attended the first meeting of the Independent Barrio Commission to Investigate the Death of Joe Torres held on May 18. The commission was chaired by W. R. Morris, president of United Steelworkers Local 1742. Local 1742, which represents more than 5,000 workers at Hughes Tool Company, has endorsed the inquiry. SWP mayoral candidate Diane Sarge, a member of the local, urged union members to back the commission at the meeting where the local voted to do so.

Others on the commission include Luis Mier of *El Sol* newspaper; Jesús Luna of the Texas Farm Workers Union; Romaldo Rangel of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Isaiah Lovings of the Central Garden Civic Club; NAACP leader Philip Limon; and José Alvarado of the Socialist Workers party.

The commission had invited Houston Police Chief B. G. "Pappy" Bond and the six officers accused of murdering Torres to testify. None of these cops showed up.

But after hearing evidence from Torres's mother and other victims and witnesses of Houston police terror, the commission released a statement demanding that the police department open its files on the Torres case and any other police brutality cases. The commission has also decided to carry through its own investigation into the death of Joe Torres.

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS STRUGGLES:** Eight hundred people rallied on the steps of the state capitol in **Des Moines, Iowa**, May 16. They were protesting a resolution recently introduced by a Democratic state senator seeking rescission of the Equal Rights Amendment. Phyllis Schlafly, national head of Stop ERA, was only able to mobilize 200 people to support the resolution earlier in the day.

In **Madison, Wisconsin**, more than seventy people picketed at the state legislature during public hearings on three anti-abortion bills May 17. Abortion rights groups participating in the picket line and public hearings included Madison **LATER** (Legal Abortion 'Tis Everywoman's Right), Madison Women Organized for Action, Young Socialist Alliance, University of Milwaukee Pro-Choice Abortion Coalition, University of Milwaukee Feminist Center, and the National Organization for Women.

Between 150 and 200 women gathered at Fountain Square in **Cincinnati, Ohio**, May 7 to show their support for safe and legal abortions, affirmative-action programs, ERA ratification, and equal rights for lesbian women. The rally

was coordinated by the University of Cincinnati Women's Center. Endorsers included: the National Organization for Women, Northern Kentucky and Cincinnati Rape Crisis Centers, Lesbian Activist Bureau, University of Cincinnati Black Student Caucus, National Abortion Rights Action League, and the Socialist Workers party.

**FORCED STERILIZATION OF INDIANS:** An article in the *National Catholic Reporter* cites the finding of Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw-Cherokee Indian from Los Angeles, that more than one of every four Indian women in the United States may have been sterilized. Uri says there may be only 100,000 Native American women in the nation who can bear children.

The article also reports on General Accounting Office findings showing that some women were being convinced by the Indian Health Service that they had to submit to sterilization or lose their children or their welfare benefits.

**PALESTINE DAY IN DETROIT:** One thousand spirited demonstrators marched to city hall in Dearborn, a Detroit suburb, May 15 to show their support for the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination. May 15 is

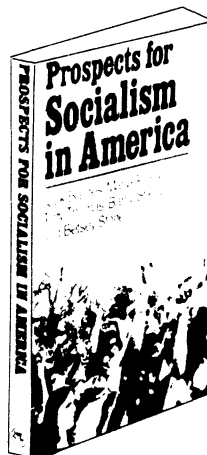


the twenty-ninth anniversary of the beginning of the Zionists' war to occupy Palestine. The rally was organized by a coalition of Arab community groups and was endorsed by several local unions, including Local 600 of the United Auto Workers.

Among the speakers at the rally was Dennis Brutus, a South African poet now in exile. Brutus's remarks urging solidarity between the anti-apartheid struggle and the struggle against Zionism were particularly well-received by the predominantly Arab audience. —Peter Seidman

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# Jury chosen to hear Skyhorse-Mohawk

By Dave Brown  
LOS ANGELES—Selection of a jury has been completed in the frame-up murder trial of American Indian Movement activists Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse.

The trial was suspended for several days so the defendants could receive medical attention and a checkup to determine their physical condition. Both were beaten by guards at the Ventura County, California, jail.

Mohawk and Skyhorse's trial was being held in Ventura prior to winning a change of venue to Los Angeles.

Both were given a medical OK by the head physician at the Los Angeles County jail. However, skepticism over his diagnosis was expressed by those who saw his report. They said it described the AIM activists as "two healthy Caucasians."

Dr. Elsi Giorgi, the internist who recommended their hospitalization, is submitting an independent report to the court.

Although she had diagnosed Mohawk as possibly suffering from brain damage, the only treatment prescribed at the prison section of the hospital was eyeglasses.

The jury that was selected includes six Blacks and one Chicano. Five of the jurors were women. Most are middle-aged. Two are retired, and several are civil-service workers.

The prosecution worked systemati-

cally to exclude anyone from the jury who might have had even past contact or acquaintance with Native Americans.

Mohawk and Skyhorse, acting as their own attorneys, have vigorously protested the fact that there are no Native Americans on the jury.

There is no lack of such potential jurors since the Los Angeles Native American community is one of the largest in the country.

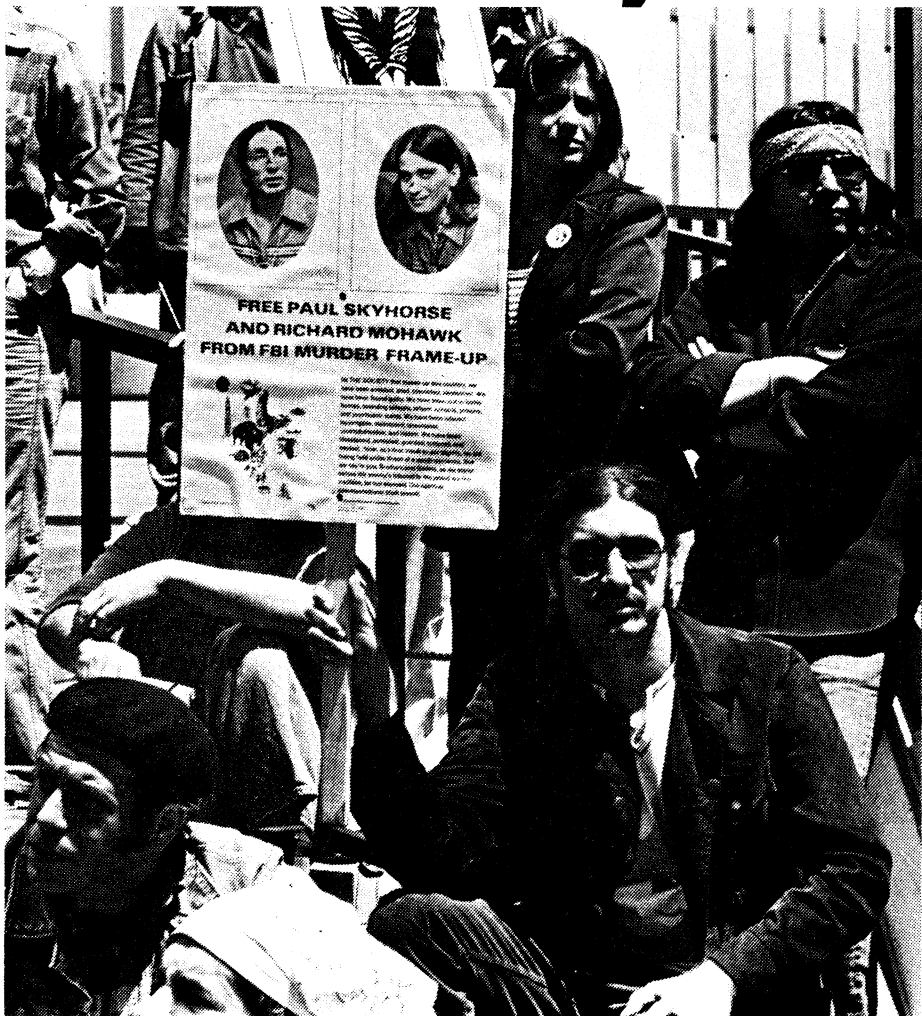
Mohawk and Skyhorse have been charged with the murder of a cabdriver. The only witnesses against them are people who were themselves strongly implicated in the killing. There is no material evidence against the two AIM activists.

Presiding Judge Dodson, who transferred himself from Ventura with the case, has failed to protect the right of Mohawk and Skyhorse to practice their religion without interference.

A special target of harassment has been Ernie Peters, who, in addition to being an AIM leader, is a religious leader. Deputies have demanded he open his medical bags for them. Peters says this is equivalent to making a priest crack open his cross.

For more information on the defense, write: Skyhorse-Mohawk Offense/Defense, Box 30036, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90030, or call (213) 284-2379 or 665-6402.

## Solidarity



Militant/Harry Ring

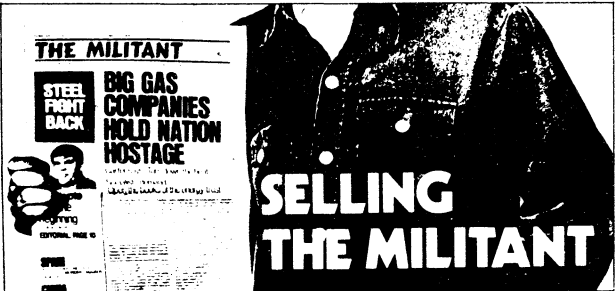
SAN FRANCISCO—Michael Mora, cochairperson of the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Fund, holds sign at May 4 rally here. More than 300 people gathered at the federal building to demand freedom for Skyhorse and Mohawk. The rally was jointly organized by the American Indian Movement and the Native American Solidarity Committee. A delegation met with local FBI officials to protest federal infiltration and victimization of the movement.

# Sales drive ends with bang: over top again

By Andrea Baron  
11,825!

This is the total number of *Militants* sold around the country during the second national sales target week. It was the last week of the spring sales drive, and members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance aimed to push the sales over the 10,000 weekly goal.

Twenty-three of the forty areas listed in the scoreboard made or went over their individual sales



goals. The highest totals were in New York, with 2,076, and Los Angeles, with 899.

Several other areas went way over their normal goals. Toledo sold 175 (233 percent of their goal); San Diego sold 420 (210 percent); Dallas sold 275 (196 percent); and Phoenix sold 221 (177 percent).



Militant/Barry Chann

Plant-gate and workplace sales were again an important part of the week's sales. Los Angeles sold 139 at the nearby Fontana steel mills. Oakland, Phoenix, Houston, Cleveland, and many other cities also had very successful sales at plant gates during the target week.

Newark was one of the areas that went way over its usual goal. They sold 395, with a goal of 225. According to Newark SWP organizer Joe Soares, they used the campaign of Rich Ariza for governor of New Jersey to help sales on Saturday.

"We sent Ariza and a sound car and campaign literature to all the sales locations," Soares said. "A sales team would go out to a street corner or shopping center and then the sound car would come around. Ariza would get out and talk to people and give out literature, and lots of people bought copies of the *Militant*."

"We also did walking tours with Ariza in the Black community in the Weequahic area. Ariza and a team of people with literature walked down residential streets, talking to people about the campaign and the *Militant*. We sold nineteen *Militants* in the first hour. Tying in the election campaign with our regular sales teams was very successful, and we plan to continue it during the campaign."

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language magazine, also increased during the sales drive. In many areas *Militant* sales teams regularly take along copies of *PM* to sell to Spanish-speaking people.

Houston sold twenty-seven copies of *PM* during the target week. Sales teams from San Diego found a good response in National City, where many

Spanish-speaking people live.

In Chicago, a sales team went to a new location in the Puerto Rican community last week. They found a lot of interest in the Spanish magazine, and sold eight copies of *PM* and several copies of the *Militant*. They now plan to make sales of both publications in this community a regular part of their summer sales.

Appearing on the scoreboard for the first time this week is the newest branch of the SWP, located in Albuquerque, New Mexico. For the target week, they took a sales goal of seventy-five.

Lynn Rashkind, Albuquerque sales director, found that they had no trouble making the goal the first time they tried. "We sold a total of seventy-seven copies of the *Militant* and five copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*."

One of the newest members of the YSA in Albuquerque was selling the *Militant* when a Chicana asked her if there was any news in it on undocumented workers. When she showed the woman the article in the *Militant*, she bought a copy right away. "I'm sick and tired of the government telling Mexican workers what they can and cannot do," the woman told her. "You don't see many papers like this that tell the truth."

\* \* \*

This week's scoreboard shows the final totals for the target week. Pittsburgh does not appear on the scoreboard because the Socialist Workers campaign there is currently petitioning to put their candidate for mayor, Howard "Buddy" Beck, on the ballot.

## Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Tacoma, Wash.	70	76	108.5	Boston	520	459	88.2
Toledo	75	175	233.3	Salt Lake City	100	105	105.0	Seattle	215	189	87.9
San Diego	200	420	210.0	St. Louis	300	310	103.3	Kansas City, Mo.	120	105	87.5
Dallas	140	275	196.4	Cincinnati	125	129	103.2	Atlanta	400	335	83.7
New York City	1,100	2,076	188.7	Baltimore	150	152	101.3	San Francisco	550	460	83.6
Phoenix	125	221	176.8	New Orleans	200	202	101.0	Richmond, Va.	75	60	80.0
Newark	225	395	175.5	Portland, Ore.	200	202	101.0	Denver	200	153	76.5
St. Paul	80	137	171.2	San Antonio	125	125	100.0	Detroit	625	461	73.7
Cleveland	180	300	166.6	San Jose	200	200	100.0	Louisville	100	70	70.0
Miami	75	113	150.6	Indianapolis	135	131	97.0	Berkeley, Calif.	250	170	68.0
Los Angeles	650	899	138.3	Philadelphia	400	385	96.2	Oakland, Calif.	250	161	64.4
Houston	400	511	127.7	Chicago	650	608	93.5	Milwaukee	200	111	55.5
Washington, D.C., Area	400	469	117.2	Albany, N.Y.	75	70	93.3	Total			
Raleigh, N.C.	40	45	112.5	Minneapolis	300	278	92.6	May 20 issue	10,000	11,825	118.3
Albuquerque	75	82	109.3								



# Behind the 'upset' in Israeli elections

David Frankel of the Militant Washington Bureau recently returned from Israel where he spent several weeks prior to the elections.

By David Frankel

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the Israeli election May 17 was that the outcome was seen by bourgeois commentators as such an upset.

Since the last election in December 1973 the Labor party coalition governing Israel has been faced with the country's increasing international isolation, a stagnant economy, a rate of inflation approaching 40 percent, discontent over some of the highest taxes in the world, and, most recently, a series of financial scandals that forced the ruling prime minister out of office.

It would have been surprising indeed had the Labor alignment escaped untouched from such a situation.

As things turned out, the Labor bloc declined in strength from fifty-one seats to thirty-four, although final election results are not yet in. Fourteen of the seventeen seats lost by Labor were picked up by the Democratic Movement for Change, which based its entire strategy on winning the votes of discontented Labor supporters.

Likud was the other main electoral bloc. It appears that the Likud won forty-three seats in the Knesset (parliament), which is only a few more than it held after the 1973 election.

Looked at from this angle, there has not been much change in the underlying reality of Israeli politics. On the surface, however, the shift has been great. With barely one-third of the seats in the Knesset, the Likud is now Israel's largest single party. Likud leader Menahem Begin will now try to form a coalition government, taking over as the first non-Labor prime minister in Israel's history.

Because of Likud's stand in favor of formal Israeli annexation of the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip, Begin's ascension to power was greeted by many as the kiss of death for President Carter's diplomatic plans in the Middle East.

A typical response came from columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak who declared, in a May 20 article: "Not only have the odds on a new Middle East war escalated with the surprise election of hard-line Israeli nationalist Menahem Begin and his right-wing Likud party, but the re-



Zionist extremists demonstrating in support of annexations of occupied West Bank lands. New Israeli regime will continue land-grab policies put into motion under Labor party government.

gion's entire political fabric has been ripped to shreds as well."

A similar sentiment was voiced by columnist Anthony Lewis in the May 19 *New York Times*. "We have allowed ourselves to hope, this year, that there was at last a real chance for settlement in the Middle East . . .," Lewis said. "To those hopes the election in Israel has dealt a numbing blow."

In practice, however, the Israeli Labor party has been following a completely annexationist course in the occupied territories for the last ten years. It has spent some \$500 million on the establishment of Zionist settlements in these territories.

For diplomatic reasons, the Israeli regime has carried out this process of colonization without formally annexing the territories involved, except in the case of Jerusalem. Whatever his personal inclinations, it is unlikely that Begin would be able to change this policy without the acquiescence of powerful forces outside of his own Likud bloc.

Settlement plans might be speeded up, but the biggest obstacle in this regard is simply finding people willing to leave Israel's established cities and towns and go live in the new colonies. It was not surprising, in view of this, that James Reston advocated a calmer view of the prospects under Begin in

his column in the May 20 issue of the *New York Times*.

"The reaction to the Israeli election here [in Washington] has naturally been a little jumpy, but after the first official hiccup, the most thoughtful people have begun to take a more philosophic view," Reston wrote.

Having kept the Arab regimes on a string for the past three years with nothing but promises, and at virtually no expense to themselves or their Israeli client state, the American imperialists have now been handed a new excuse.

"When President Carter met the Congressional leaders at the White House after the Israeli election, according to our information, he urged everybody in attendance to be patient," Reston pointed out. "He agreed that the Israeli election complicated things, and might delay the process of trying to find a compromise Middle East peace at Geneva, but insisted nothing *enduring* had happened." (Emphasis in original.)

With international attention focused on the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow—the prospect of an overall Mideast peace settlement engineered by American imperialism—there has been virtually no comment on one big shift that was indicated by the May 17 vote. That is, the growing radicaliza-

tion of the Palestinians inside Israel.

This radicalization was reflected in the vote of the Israeli Communist party. Running in a front with a layer of Palestinian notables and some small radical groups, the CP appears to have increased its vote among the Palestinian population from the 35 percent it obtained in December 1973 to more than 50 percent. This increase was at the expense of the Zionist parties, particularly the Labor party.

If anything, the vote of the Israeli CP may even have been diminished by its participation in a front with Arab mayors who have been notorious collaborators with the Zionist regime in the past. The conciliatory policy of the Stalinist-led front towards the Zionist parties, and its outright support for the Israeli state, led some Palestinian militants to favor abstention in the election. This position was also taken by the Trotskyists in the Revolutionary Communist League (Israeli section of the Fourth International).

But the important thing to note is not the electoral form in which the radicalization of the Palestinians has been expressed in this particular election. Rather, it is the existence of the radicalization itself, which is a factor that will have to be faced by whatever government is in power in Israel.

## Menahem Begin: architect of Deir Yassin massacre

A May 22 *New York Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv reports that Likud leader Menahem Begin is "deeply hurt by his portrayal in the international news media as a 'terrorist chieftain.'" Begin earned this reputation for his role as the leader of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a Zionist terrorist organization, during Israel's 1948 founding war.

Begin recently complained that his critics "call [Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir] Arafat a guerrilla freedom fighter, and they call me a Jewish terrorist." He has now assigned a representative to fly to Washington and work to "rectify" Begin's image. The outgoing Labor party government has instructed its diplomats to help.

Foreign Minister Yigal Allon issued a directive urging Israeli envoys to "reject most forcefully any attempt to draw comparisons between the Irgun Zvai Leumi and current-day terrorist organizations. None of the Jewish underground movements in the prestate period sought to destroy a nation or conquer a country."

Such rhetoric is necessary to cover up the fact that Israel was founded

in opposition to the Palestinians' right to self-determination. The role of Begin's Irgun terrorists in the massacre at Deir Yassin exposes the hypocrisy of this new Israeli public-relations campaign.

Deir Yassin, a Palestinian village near Jerusalem, was noted for its friendly relations with its Jewish neighbors. It was invaded by Irgun forces on April 9, 1948. The villagers were slaughtered and their homes systematically destroyed.

In all, 250 Palestinians perished. About 150 bodies were thrown down a cistern. The few survivors were marched triumphantly through the streets of Jerusalem.

Begin celebrates the infamous massacre in his book *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*. Begin's racist account is at least more honest than those of liberal Zionists who try to deny that the Arabs were consciously driven out of Palestine in 1948.

According to Begin: "The legend of Deir Yassin helped us in particular in the saving of Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa. . . . All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in

panic, shouting 'Deir Yassin' . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede."

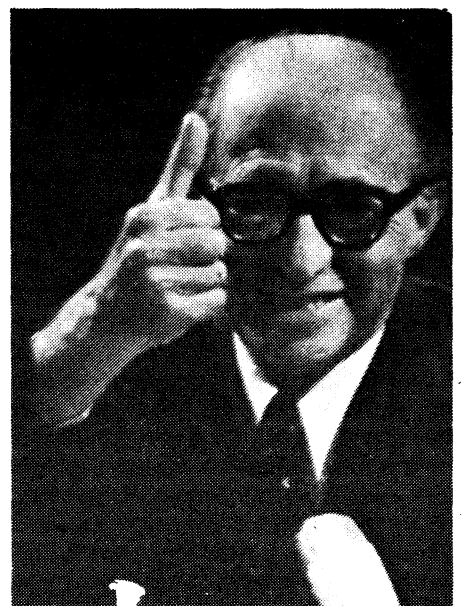
David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, eventually broke all collaboration with the Irgun and declared Begin an outlaw. But it was not over the Deir Yassin massacre that he did this. Rather, it was over the assassination of United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte by another terrorist group in September 1948—six months after Deir Yassin.

Apparently, the official Zionist leaders considered massacres of Arabs tolerable, albeit in bad taste.

In fact, although the official Zionist armed forces, the Haganah, condemned the Deir Yassin massacre, the Irgun produced a document signed by the local Haganah commander proving he knew of the planned attack. Haganah's special commando unit, the Palmach, even provided reinforcements to cover the Irgun retreat when Arab forces approached Deir Yassin.

Since the formation of the Israeli state, of course, Israel's Labor party

leaders have committed crimes that overshadow even the Deir Yassin massacre. The consternation of some over the results of the Israeli election reflects the misconception that the Labor party wing of the Zionist ruling apparatus is somehow more progressive, or at least less racist and reactionary, than Likud.—D.F.



MENACHEM BEGIN



# New wave of racist violence hits Boston

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—At 7:30 a.m. on Thursday, May 12, a custodian found a stick of dynamite on the steps of South Boston High School. The discovery marked the onset of the biggest wave of racist violence here in several months.

About nine that morning, the bell rang, signaling the end of the first hour of classes. When students came into the school's corridors, white gangs set upon Black students in nearly every room. They

*Boston racists are continuing their mobilizations against school desegregation. On May 22, hundreds of bigots joined in a "Family March Against Forced Busing." A contingent of busing foes from Louisville, Kentucky—a city also under a court-ordered desegregation plan—joined the protest, which they called the "Second Boston Tea Party."*

attacked Blacks in the hallways and on the stairways between the first and second floors.

Meanwhile, white parents patrolled the perimeter of the school, shouting racist slogans and throwing rocks and eggs at the police.

Then a white woman came running from the building screaming, "They're killing our children!" And as if it were planned, a mob of whites began moving toward the school.

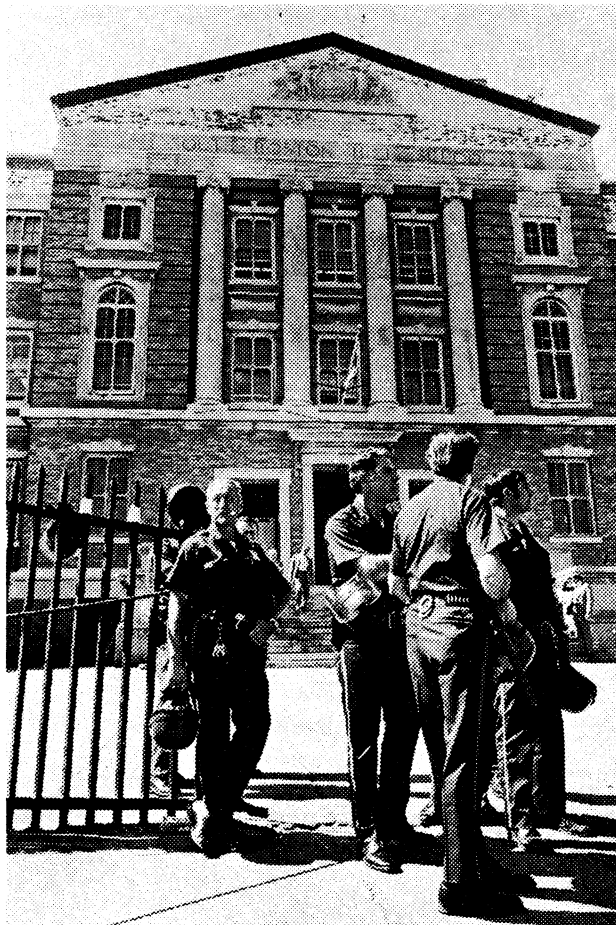
Some of the mob broke through police lines. They tried to reach a busload of Black and white students leaving for a field trip. The bus sped away with its rear door still open as police regained control over the mob.

The attacks continued inside with each change of classes throughout Thursday and again on Friday and Monday.

The mobs of whites outside got larger and more volatile each day. One hundred Boston police and fifty state troopers were finally called in to quell the riot and keep the streets clear.

By the end of the three-day racist rampage, twenty-six whites had been arrested.

James Kelly, spokesperson for the antibusing South Boston Information Center, said they had



SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL: Twenty-six whites were arrested during a three-day racist rampage.

been protesting the Black students' proposal to close South Boston High and move it to a neutral site.

"If you think there will be trouble in the school if it does not close, there will be more headaches if it does," said Kelly.

The proposal that so enraged the bigots was a petition that Black students presented to South Boston High Headmaster Jerome Winegar and Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity on Wednesday, following a three-day boycott of the school.

Black students requested that Judge Garrity close the school and move it to a "racially neutral site" because of the constant racist harassment and violence in South Boston.

The antibusers were also incensed by Garrity's decision to keep the school under federal receivership.

In Charlestown, the antibusing group Powderkeg held a news conference protesting Garrity's phase three desegregation order.

On Friday, a white thug fired a shotgun at a busload of Black students near West Roxbury High School. No one was injured, but the blast was close enough to break some windows. The police have covered up the shooting with the flimsy excuse that releasing information on it would hamper their investigation.

In Cambridge on Sunday four whites armed with baseball bats went after an Ethiopian student who was in his car at a stoplight.

The Boston School Committee continues to impede the desegregation plan. School Supt. Marion Fahey has reassigned Charles Leftwich, designated by Garrity to head the newly created department of implementation under phase three. Leftwich is one of the few Black administrators in the school system.

With the unanimous approval of the school committee, Fahey has instead named desegregation opponent John Coakley head of the department.

If Garrity acquiesces in Fahey's maneuver, he will sanction implementation of desegregation by the same school committee that he said refuses to implement and sustain it.

Despite last week's violence, Friday, May 13, was a lucky day for forty-two Black students at South Boston High.

After three years of racist attacks by white mobs, abuse by police, suspension by administrators, neglect and harassment by teachers, and a final parting shot by racist students in the corridors, these forty-two Black students graduated from "Southie" along with the rest of the class of 1977.

By simply surviving the last three years, they have scored a small victory for school desegregation.

## SWP candidates back Black students' rights

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—The May 12 white racist riot at South Boston High School, and the two days of anti-Black violence that followed it, showed that ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and other antibusing organizations have not given up their drive to turn back school desegregation here.

But a May 14 Socialist Workers party campaign rally showed that supporters of Boston's Black community have not given up either. More than seventy people turned out to support Hattie McCutcheon and Diane Jacobs, the SWP candidates for school committee and city council.

The purpose of the rally, McCutcheon explained, was "to send notice to Mayor Kevin White, City Councilor Joseph Tierney, and School Committee President Kathleen Sullivan that we—along with many other working people, Black and white—are supporting those courageous Black students."

"The major threat," McCutcheon said, "to phase three of the desegrega-

tion plan is not loudmouthed racist demagogues. Rather, it's the so-called moderates, like Kathleen Sullivan.

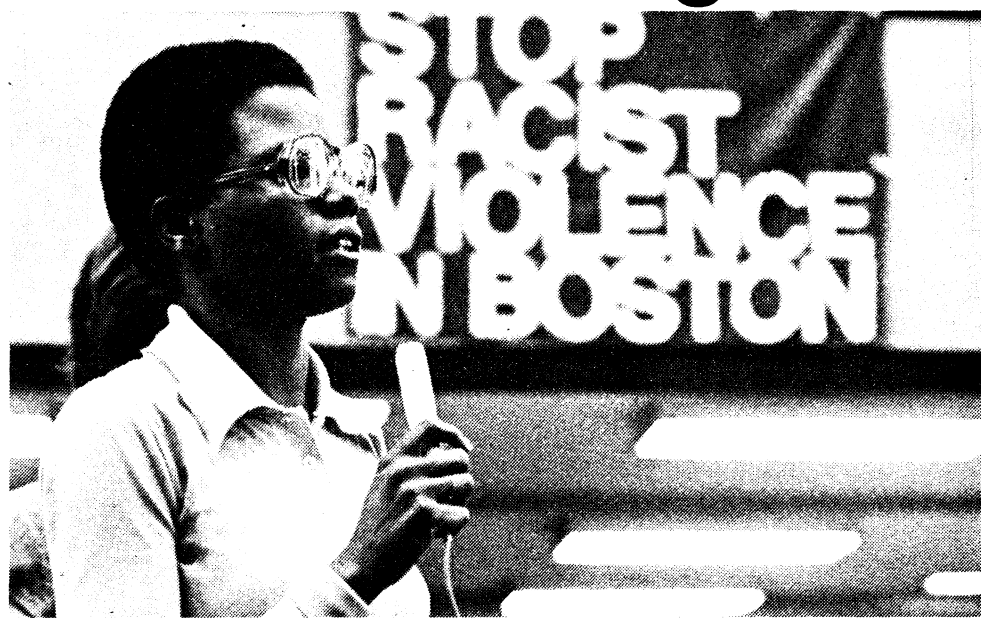
"Sullivan says she will appeal Garrity's phase three order. This is because she is opposed even to the maintenance of existing desegregation—let alone the small advances proposed in phase three.

"We need to rely on the organized power of a united movement of the Black community and its supporters to implement busing. We can't rely on reactionary Democrats or so-called liberal democrats to win desegregation. This is the lesson of events here during phases one, two, and three."

Diane Jacobs told the rally that the SWP "offers a genuine antiracist alternative to the two capitalist parties. Our aim is to mobilize all working people to fight for the equal rights of the Black community."

Bob Pearlman of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) also addressed the rally.

"When Mayor White announced



HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

cutbacks of \$6.2 million in next year's school budget," Pearlman said, "the Citywide Parents Advisory Council asked the BTU for help. Together we spoke out at a school committee hearing on desegregation.

"The school committee nodded and smiled," Pearlman went on. "Only one candidate for school committee offered us support. That was Hattie McCutcheon."

"A year ago, ROAR disrupted and stopped a similar meeting. But when ROAR tried to disrupt this time, parents and teachers joined to back them down. We had them arrested. This is an example of the power a labor-Black community alliance can have."

McCutcheon and Jacobs believe this potential power should be given political expression. They are urging the unions and the Black community to consider running candidates of their

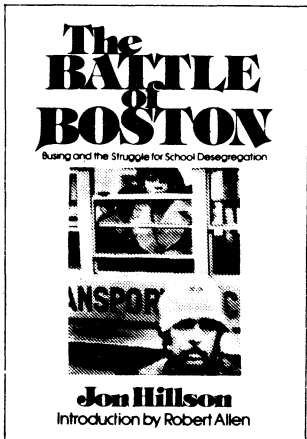
own against Democrats and Republicans alike.

Robb Wright, a BTU activist and SWP leader, urged the rally to support his lawsuit against South Boston Marshals leader Dan Yotts. Yotts assaulted Wright during a March 26 protest against the U.S. role in southern Africa.

Maureen Colletta, a member of the Student Activities Committee at the University of Massachusetts, Boston Campus, pledged the support of the Young Socialist Alliance to the McCutcheon-Jacobs ticket.

Craig Bollinger, of Boston Clamshell—an organization that participated in the recent protests at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant site—also greeted the rally. Bollinger denounced nuclear power as "the greatest public health hazard the world has ever known."

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# The rise of feminism in the 1960s and the origins of NOW

By Cindy Jaquith  
and Mary-Alice Waters

The 1960s was a tumultuous decade.

A mass civil rights movement brought Jim Crow crashing down. The campuses were in turmoil. The antiwar movement pulled millions into the streets. From Watts to Newark the ghettos exploded. And an independent women's movement was reborn after a fifty-year hiatus.

None of these phenomena were unrelated or accidental. The radicalization of women, like the other changes of the 1960s, was simply one form in which the deepening class contradictions of post-World War II American society were expressed.

The new rise of feminism was a product of the changing economic and social situation of women. Most important was the change in the composition of the U.S. working class. Imperceptibly at first, the image of the "worker" as a white male in his thirties began to change. As the postwar boom extended, the rapidly expanding economy needed a bigger work force. Blacks and women, who could be induced to work for less and thus boost the profits of the bosses, were in big demand.

A staggering jump took place in the twenty years from 1950 to 1970. Women as a percentage of the work force increased from 30 percent to 38 percent. At the same time, since most women went into low-paying jobs, the gap between men's earnings and women's earnings continued to widen.



This rapid growth in the number of working women and all the social changes it brought helped fuel the rebellion of the sixties.

Meanwhile, advances of science began to affect the traditional role of women. Labor-saving devices for housekeeping—from washing machines to prepared foods—progressively reduced the role of housewife to one of janitorial duties and baby-sitting.

The development of relatively more effective birth control also produced big changes. For the first time, women could achieve some measure of control over their reproductive lives, with all the implications that held for control over their lives as a whole.

Each of these advances for women ran smack into the contradictions of class society: while the wealth and knowledge to reorganize society and completely liberate women from economic dependence and second-class status existed, laws, social norms, and attitudes all militated against equality for women. This contradiction was a powerful source of radicalization. Slowly at first, then by the thousands women began to realize that the problem was not our own personal failings, but that society was *organized* to keep us economically dependent, socially inferior, intellectually stunted, and emotionally crippled. We began to kick over the tables.

## Allies in struggle

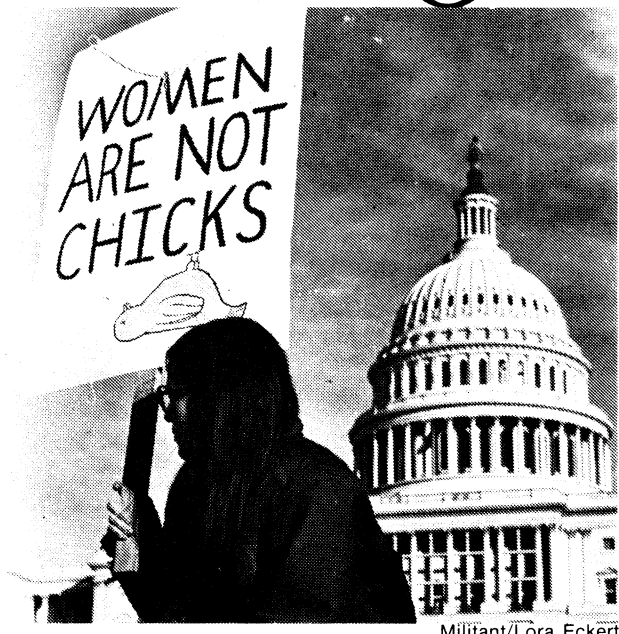
But we were not alone.

Indeed, we probably would not have been conscious enough or strong enough to start kicking if we had not been inspired by other social forces that we recognized as our allies in struggle.

The "youth radicalization" of the sixties, as it is often called, is frequently thought of as a radicalization of Blacks, students, antiwar activists, and women—as opposed to workers. But in reality, the civil rights movement, the campus explosions, and the rise of the women's movement were part of a process of the American working class itself beginning to radicalize and develop new ideas about the injustices of the society we live in.

The different social struggles also influenced each other. This was particularly true of the Black movement's effect on women.

In the early 1960s as Blacks organized themselves by the millions to take on the entire racist structure



Newly radicalized women rejected stereotypes

of American society, they began to realize their power and voice their pride in being Black. They rejected the stereotypes of inferiority. This had a big impact on women since we too had been taught that we were inferior because of our physical characteristics. We began to speak out, to organize, to fight back. We were proud to be women.

The antiwar movement also propelled women into political activity. As we marched in the streets to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam, we began to think about marching for our own liberation too.

This radicalization of women gave rise to a broad diversity of feminist groups from one end of the country to the other. These groups, usually small, focused on a variety of aspects of female oppression, ranging from degrading "beauty" contests, to unequal pay, to anti-abortion laws, to the fight for child care. Much time was spent in consciousness-raising discussions, where we began to sort out the real causes of our second-class status, and realize that it was the institutions of this society, from the family, to the church, to the government, that were responsible for perpetuating our oppression.

Unlike the suffrage movement, which focused on winning the right of women to vote, this new movement called for sweeping radical changes on every front, for the full liberation of women. Its demands, like the *right* of women to control their own bodies, and the *right* to child-care facilities, posed the idea of a totally new society, one based on human needs, not profits.

## Origins of NOW

Founded in 1966, NOW was one of many women's organizations born out of this radicalization.

In her book *It Changed My Life* (Random House, 1976), NOW founder Betty Friedan gives a history of NOW, including many of the original NOW statements that reflect these origins.

NOW's founding Statement of Purpose, for example, stated that "there is no civil rights movement to speak for women, as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination. The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak."

The impact of the Black movement and its militancy runs throughout the early history of NOW. For example, in a 1964 speech Friedan said: "... no one will hand women anything, any more than society has handed Negroes anything. It was only when they said for themselves, in 1963, the young ones and the old ones, we will no longer eat, live, work, go to school, or even go to the toilet as anything less than free and full and equal human beings, that the rights they won on paper a hundred years ago began to be a reality, and our society began to take them seriously."

NOW's founding Statement of Purpose set as goals the liberation of women from the confines of the home, the integration of women as equals in the work force, and support to the fights against discrimination of other oppressed groups.

At the same time, while NOW's positions on paper were strong affirmations of women's rights, it always occupied a position in the women's movement to the right of the most militant feminists. While NOW supported abortion rights, it backed away from visible activity to challenge the anti-abortion laws, viewing this as "too controversial."

While always nominally independent of the two ruling political parties, NOW generally preferred lobbying and electoral activity to protests in the streets.

This was in harmony with the views of the founders of NOW and their class outlook. The founders of NOW, as Friedan writes in her book, were not the student radicals of the 1960s or the working-class Black women out of the civil rights struggle. They were women who had won posts in government agencies, professional women, and some officials of the United Auto Workers union. They believed that women's equality could be won through the system. They did not view women's oppression as a class question and had no intention of challenging the basic class underpinnings of sexism.

## Playing with fire

Regardless of the NOW founders' protestations that they meant no harm to the free enterprise system, the men who control the big money in this country did not look kindly on the women who founded NOW. They knew—better than Betty Friedan—that these women were playing with fire.

The oppression of women is not some secondary feature of twentieth century America, some surface blemish that can be removed by minor surgical procedure. Women's oppression and superexploitation is intertwined with the very foundations of capitalism—an economic system that allows a few individuals to own and control virtually all social wealth and use it for their own personal gain rather than the collective good of all.

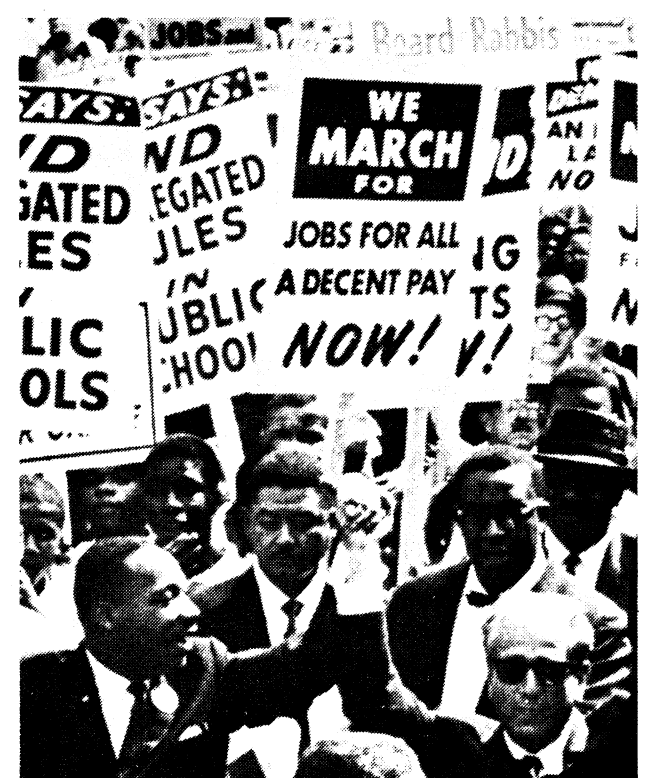
However minimal women's demands may seem at the outset, however polite the protest, the revolt of women against their second-class status can only challenge the most sacred prerogatives of private property. Full equality for women is directly counterposed to the "right" of a wealthy few to grow rich because women perform hours and hours of unpaid labor in the home, and work for lower wages than men outside the home.

Even the demand that the Constitution affirm that women are legally equal to men—the Equal Rights Amendment—provokes violent opposition because such a general, ideological commitment to the rights of women can be a stimulus to further radicalization and struggle by women to achieve real equality. Real equality means a redistribution of social wealth. And that is a challenge to the capitalist system.

Even if the founders of NOW did not see that women's liberation can only be achieved through socialist revolution, many radicalizing women did see it. And so did the ruling class. It struck fear into their souls.

At first, they tried to kill the beast with ridicule, but when that didn't work they began to take the women's movement more seriously. If it could not be killed, it would have to be controlled.

And that will be the subject of the next article.



1963 March on Washington. Civil rights movement had impact on fight for women's rights.



# B'klyn NOW leaders launch local witch-hunt

By Ginny Hildebrand

The May newsletter of the Brooklyn National Organization for Women is devoted to applauding the red-baiting motion passed at the April NOW national conference. The resolution accused the Socialist Workers party of trying to "use N.O.W." and "exploit the feminist movement."

Brooklyn NOW leaders see this as a license to drive socialists out of NOW.

"Hopefully the SWP will go away. . . . But in case they don't the National Conference, our supreme governing body, has given us a valuable tool with which to preserve the feminist movement," writes Theresa Bergen, a New York State NOW vice-president.

Aware that many NOW members oppose red-baiting and believe socialists have the right to participate in NOW, the newsletter authors weave a tissue of falsifications concerning the "tactics" of the SWP.

## 'Leading agent'

In one article, Marie Shear, chair of the legislative and political committee, vilifies the tactics of what she calls the "leading SWP agent in Brooklyn NOW"—Kathryn Crowder. Shear accuses Crowder, head of Brooklyn NOW's abortion committee, of ten crimes.

Crowder's first two offenses were to exercise her right to actively partici-



Militant/Walter Lippmann  
Kathryn Crowder, target of witch-hunt

pate in NOW's national conference:

- Crowder "tried to become an official Brooklyn NOW delegate to the National NOW Conference in Detroit."
- "Attended the Conference anyway after the Chapter's Planning Board voted to prevent her from representing Brooklyn NOW."

What are the facts? As one of the few Brooklyn NOW members planning to attend the conference, Crowder was going to be given delegate's credentials. Then, the leadership revoked this decision, claiming her membership in the SWP constituted a "conflict of interests." Crowder committed the crime of attending the conference anyway—a crime joined in by some 1,200 other NOW members who were not delegates.

Another charge is that Crowder "sought Planning Board support for the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), a group which is greatly influenced by extreme left-wing organizations."

CESA has been waging a campaign for guidelines to curb forced sterilizations of Black and Puerto Rican women. If Shear thinks NOW should not fight sterilization abuse, why doesn't she come out and say so?

## A thief too?

Crowder is also condemned for representing "Brooklyn NOW at a city-wide coalition of groups which planned a rally on May 7. The rally evaporated, taking Brooklyn NOW's financial contribution with it," charges Shear.

The women's rights rally had to be canceled because the city refused a permit. According to the Greater New York Women's Coalition, Brooklyn NOW's entire contribution—\$5.00—is being refunded.

The crowning indictment: Crowder "complained to members of other NOW chapters that she is being unfairly treated."

How unreasonable!

These phony charges, ripe with innuendo, create the impression that Crowder and other SWP members are underhanded and unscrupulous. Who would give a fair hearing to the political ideas of such women? Nobody, of course. That's the aim of Shear's inquisition.

Readers catch a glimmer of the political outlook motivating the inquisitors in the newsletter's editorial by Josette Kiefer. She writes:

"Abortion becomes a good tool for grassroots organizing with the ultimate goal of swelling the ranks of the SWP."

"A frequent SWP tactic around, say, abortion, would be to call for mass rallies, demonstrations and teach-ins which, by definition, are not going to accomplish anything in and of them-

Continued on page 30

# U.S. will seal off border at San Diego

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—After only six days in office, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) chief Leonel Castillo announced plans to seal off the border at San Diego.

According to a report recently adopted by the San Diego County Board of Supervisors, 43 percent of all illegal crossings take place along a small stretch of the border here.

Castillo, the first Chicano to head *la migra*, spoke at a packed news conference here May 19. He told reporters he will transfer 100 Border Patrol agents to the Chula Vista border station and ask Congress for funds for 1,000 new agents.

He will also bring in seventeen jeeps, eight vans, and twenty-four special night-viewing scopes. The scopes were developed during the Vietnam War. This has led some antideportation activists to brand the Carter-Castillo plan as a "Vietnamization" of the border.

Many Chicano leaders are concerned about Carter's plans. Some of these activists made their views known at a meeting of the Hispanic Advisory Committee, which advises the government on immigration policy.

"One of the [kinds of legislation] that will be vigorously opposed will be sanctions of any type against employers for hiring undocumented workers," declared Alberto Juárez of the Los Angeles One Stop Immigration Center. "We won't fall for a carrot-and-stick-type approach."

Almost all Chicano leaders agree that this type of legislation will allow employers to discriminate against Chicanos in hiring. The employers can claim that a prospective Chicano

employee has not adequately proven his or her citizenship.

When pressed on this point, Castillo first claimed that he opposed criminal sanctions against employers. "I'm not a supporter of criminal sanctions," he declared. "I would consider civil sanctions if there were adequate safeguards." He was evasive about what an "adequate safeguard" might be. But civil sanctions would have the same impact as criminal penalties.

A Chicana reporter wanted to know how the majority of "illegals," who work under assumed names, can prove who they are if they want to apply for amnesty.

"No one can answer that," replied Castillo. "If you've been using a false identity, you'll have some special problems. Affidavits of identity are accepted by the courts . . . it'll be harder, though."

Those seeking amnesty who cannot afford a medical examination and the necessary legal fees would probably not get it, Castillo explained in response to another question.

Herman Baca of National City's Committee on Chicano Rights voiced his opposition to another part of the Carter plan at an African Liberation-Malcolm X rally May 20.

"They want to give us all an ID card to keep Mexicans from immigrating here," he said. "Where else do they use ID cards?"

"South Africa!" the crowd of 500 roared.

"That's right," Baca continued. "Right now the government is after us Chicanos. But believe me, they'll be after you next. And the only thing that ever got us any rights was not going on our knees to the politicians, but demonstrating out here in the streets!"

## Socialist slams border crackdown

Leonel Castillo's visit to San Diego included a session with the Hispanic Advisory Committee, a group formed in December 1976 to advise the government on immigration policy. Castillo is a former member.

During the agenda point for public discussion, the first person the committee heard was Antonio González. González, a twenty-year-old student at the University of Califor-

nia at San Diego, announced his candidacy for the city's First City Council District seat exactly twenty-four hours earlier. He is running on the Socialist Workers party slate.

González denounced the government's attempt to build a "Berlin Wall" between the United States and Mexico. He called for an open border.

"I think our immigration policy should start from one fact," he said. "The immigrant Mexican workers are our sisters and brothers. They are not coming here to 'steal' jobs."

"The Carter plan seeks to use Mexican immigrants as a scapegoat for unemployment. But Mexican immigrants never laid anyone off. The blame for unemployment lies with the capitalist system," which has never been able to give everyone a job, González asserted.

Other Chicano activists questioned different aspects of the immigration plan as Castillo listened. While most of the community leaders seemed unhappy with one or another aspect of the package and the INS, most seemed pleased by Castillo's appointment.

González was not impressed.

"It's a trick," he explained in an interview. "Carter simply hopes to suck Chicanos into supporting his proposals by putting a Chicano in charge of the program. But that changes nothing. I think if they had [former INS head] Chapman trying to sell us this proposal, there would be mass protest against it."

"And that's just what we need—a mass protest against this attack."

—M.S.



Militant/Joseph Ryan  
ANTONIO GONZALEZ

## N.J. women condemn red-baiting

Many of the members of the National Organization for Women are outraged at the red-baiting motion against the Socialist Workers party adopted in the final hour of NOW's national conference in April.

In protest, several chapters have sent letters to NOW national leaders or adopted resolutions reaffirming that NOW is open to all feminists regardless of political affiliations. These include the San Jose, St. Paul, Atlanta, Baltimore, and Metro-St. Louis NOW chapters. The New Jersey state board also passed a resolution.

Following are excerpts from an editorial that appeared in the May statewide NOW-New Jersey newsletter. The newsletter is edited by Honey Cole and Barbara Goldblatt.

Although the editors did not attend the National Conference nor receive any written information from those who did, we have heard things of a disturbing nature. At the National Conference NOW members and delegates who also belonged to the Socialist Worker's Party were discriminated against.

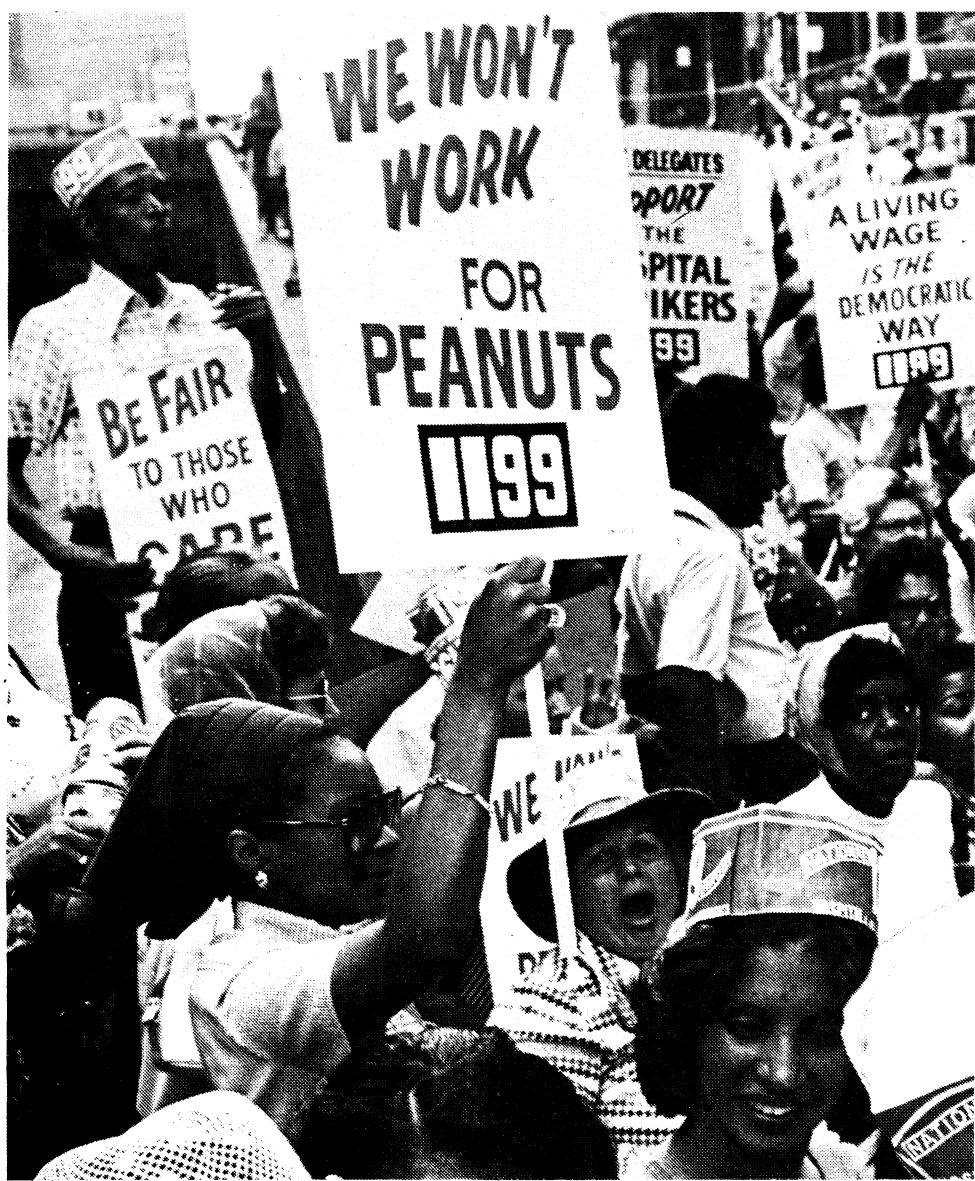
We have heard that some resolutions were judged not by their substance, but because of their sponsors. Phrases like "Dupe" and "Pawns" were used to discredit members and entire caucuses.

NOW's past is besmirched with the memory of Lesbian purges, surely upon entering our second decade we must be careful not to repeat our mistakes.

When NOW members who have certainly proved their commitment to Feminism are discredited because they are said to belong to another legitimate, non-violent organization, it becomes frighteningly possible that an era of McCarthyism is upon us.

# 'Challenge ahead for Black workers'

## ...as Coalition of Black Trade Unionists meets



Militant/Dick Roberts

By John Hawkins

Under the theme "The Challenge Ahead for Black Workers," the sixth national convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists will meet in New York over the Memorial Day weekend.

"We will be talking," said CBTU President William Lucy, "about the methods by which we can increase Black participation in the labor movement as a whole and the kinds of coalition, organization, and efforts to be made to maximize Black political power. . . ."

According to Lucy, who is also secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a major topic of convention discussion will be Black unemployment.

Founded in September 1972 at a meeting of more than 1,200 Black unionists—mostly officials—the CBTU reflected a deeply felt need among Black workers for change and action.

Eight years had passed since the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Yet racial discrimination on the job, in the unions, and in society at large was still rampant. It remains so today.

Despite the adoption of some well-

intentioned resolutions over the past five years, the CBTU has made little headway in translating these into concrete gains for Black workers.

What accounts for this lack of success?

What sort of "coalition, organization, and efforts" are needed?

How can Black workers meet "the challenge ahead"?

The answers to these questions are important not only for the CBTU, but for all Black workers.

### Obstacles and pressures

One reason for the CBTU's lack of success to date is the apparent difficulty involved in solving the problems confronting Black workers.

Even in favorable economic circumstances, Blacks are relegated to the bottom of the heap. The unemployment rate among Blacks remains consistently nearly twice that of whites. Today, despite the "economic recovery," that unemployment rate stands above 13 percent.

The gap between Black and white incomes is also widening. Today, average Black incomes are only 62 percent as much as those of whites.

Racism and racial discrimination are used by the employers to keep

working people divided. In periods of economic downturn, therefore, Blacks can be easily singled out for the heaviest blows—disproportionate layoffs, cuts in already inferior education and social services, deterioration of housing and living conditions, and curtailment and attacks on basic civil liberties and rights—without provoking a response from white workers.

The almost lily-white top officialdom of the labor movement goes along with this racist employer game. Basing themselves on a narrow, conservative layer of privileged white, male workers, these bureaucrats enjoy a virtual stranglehold on the unions, taking for themselves bloated salaries and expense accounts.

Tremendous pressures are exercised by the employers, the government, and the union bureaucracy against anyone who seriously challenges the status quo on the shop floor, in the unions, or in society at large.

This pressure is brought to bear sharply on Black union activists—especially officials who have risen to positions of national leadership. They are pressed to avoid an open confrontation, to accommodate to the ways of the established white union officialdom. Yielding to this pressure invariably leads to adoption of incorrect policies and strategy.

For example, at its 1975 convention in Atlanta—during the depths of the last recession—the CBTU Executive Council introduced, but then withdrew, a resolution strongly condemning racially and sexually discriminatory layoffs.

The resolution called for "the granting of constructive seniority to individuals previously discriminated against due to race or sex."

In arguing for rejection of the resolution, CBTU Vice-president Charles Hayes echoed the arguments of the AFL-CIO top brass. Hayes claimed that protecting minority and women workers against discriminatory layoffs discriminates against white males. It divides the working class, he said.

### A hand-me-down strategy

The major element in the CBTU's strategy to meet the challenge confronting Black workers has been seeking legislative favors from liberal Democratic party office-holders. To build up their credit with these liberal Democrat "friends of labor" and "friends of Blacks," the CBTU has expended great energy helping them get elected.

This strategy was borrowed lock, stock, and barrel from the racist top officialdom of the AFL-CIO.

In fact, the primary reason Lucy and other high-ranking Black union officials convened the coalition in 1972 was to counter the "neutral" stance adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in that election.

This move paralleled the general division within labor's top brass over which capitalist candidate to support in 1972—Nixon or McGovern. The CBTU leadership backed McGovern.

At the CBTU's 1974 convention, contrary to an adopted resolution supporting the idea of backing independent labor candidates, the major campaign the convention projected was electing a "veto-proof [that is, a two-thirds Democratic] Congress."

In 1976 one of the CBTU convention's main decisions was a stepped-up lobbying campaign for passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill—a phony "jobs bill" whose only purpose was to inflate the campaign demagoguery of Democratic candidates.

And again—this time over strong objections from many in attendance—the CBTU boarded the Democratic bandwagon and threw itself into getting Georgia millionaire Carter elected.

While the CBTU has had only five years to test it, this hand-me-down strategy hasn't worked.

Other groups, such as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, have had more time and resources with which to test it. In the

process, one would think they would have built up more credit with the Democrats in Congress and the White House.

But it hasn't worked for them either.

### Labor's 'friends'

Having helped the Democrats win the White House and a two-thirds majority in Congress, Meany & Co. thought they were entitled to a few favors.

Last February the AFL-CIO Executive Council drew up a long list of legislative reforms they would go after—including a common-site picketing bill for the building-trades unions and an increase in the minimum wage from \$2.30 to \$3.00.

A few weeks later, however, Congress showed its gratitude by voting down the common-site bill. Carter showed his by turning down the minimum wage proposal. And to add insult to injury, he canceled the \$50.00 tax rebate and gave free rein to the energy monopoly to raise prices.

The dead-end political strategy of the union bureaucracy runs parallel to their longtime policy of collaboration with management to discipline the workers and suppress "labor unrest."

Black workers have long been the victims of this class-collaborationist policy. It enforces their second-class status on the job. It excludes them from meaningful participation in the unions. And it denies union support to their struggles in society at large.

This class-collaborationist policy is responsible for the fact that until last year, no Black was an international officer of the steelworkers union. It is responsible for the lack of meaningful support by the union officialdom to the fight for Black rights.

This policy of collaboration with the employers—whether on the job or in the political arena—cannot be adapted to meet the needs of Black workers.

The defeat of the recent strike by Atlanta city workers, the overwhelming majority of them Black, drives this home.

Black Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson won office in 1973 with the backing of the Atlanta AFSCME local.

But as a capitalist-party mayor, Jackson proceeded to break the strike and fire hundreds of union members.

Jackson's strikebreaking is yet another proof that the Democratic party cannot be bent to the needs of Blacks or labor. It is owned and controlled by the employers.

The CBTU has not drawn the lessons of this bitter experience.

### Potentially powerful force

If Black workers are to meet the challenge ahead, they will have to rely on their own organized strength.

The more than 9 million Black men and women who are part of the work force in this country are a potentially powerful force for change.

According to the CBTU's estimate, nearly 3 million Blacks are organized in unions. In the United Auto Workers, Steelworkers, AFSCME, Letter Carriers, and Postal Clerks, Blacks make up about 20 percent of the union membership.

Black workers are already beginning to move on a number of fronts.

Large numbers of Black steelworkers supported Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in last February's union election.

Fight Back's stands for union democracy, an end to collaboration with the employers, rank-and-file control over union affairs, and an end to racial discrimination on the job and in the union struck a responsive chord among Black steelworkers.

Black workers are also moving in the South. In the current drive to unionize southern industry—from General Motors in Monroe, Louisiana, to the textile mills in the Carolinas—Black workers are the firmest fighters for the union.

And across the country, Black workers have turned out for demonstrations and other protests for jobs, in

Continued on page 30



# The fight for Black representation in steel

By John Hawkins

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—When Jim Davis left high school in 1946 he got a job with Youngstown Sheet & Tube. With the exception of two years in the army during the Korean War, he's been in the mills ever since.

Today Davis is head of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers and an executive board member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. In a recent interview with Davis, (the first part of the interview appeared in the May 20 *Militant*) I asked how things have changed in the mills for Blacks.

"The Black workers, while they were permitted into the unions, and permitted to pay dues," Davis said, "were never really permitted to develop as a real part of the labor movement, and were never really equally represented."

"And because Black workers are underrepresented they're the most exploited group in the labor movement."

"They're on the dirtiest jobs. They're the first to be laid off regardless of seniority. They have the lowest-paid jobs regardless of qualifications."

Davis said that the problems confronting Black steelworkers were the same, if not worse, despite the 1974 consent decree that was supposed to end discrimination in the steel industry.

One problem, Davis said, is the power in the hands of union district directors to appoint the heads of the consent decree implementation committees. The person usually chosen is someone the director controls.

"It really puts the burden," Davis said, "on the Black worker to look at his particular situation and to begin to fight whatever is wrong."

### Time to think

I asked Davis how Black steelworkers in Youngstown began to get together.

"Once we analyzed the steelworkers union," he said, "we found that we had some power but the power was disorganized. We're probably the biggest minority group in the steelworkers union."

"It's been around that question," Davis continued, "that we've tried to organize to have some input—to make sure that Black workers attend those meetings, run for office, run for convention delegate, and be part of the policy-making bodies of their unions."

"There's a lot of power that can be had through the union when Black workers get together."

At national conventions of the union, Davis told me, it was clear that Black steelworkers across the country had much the same problems. Until recently Black delegates and observers faced segregation in hotels and other facilities in cities where the conventions were held. Convention social functions were also less than open.



OLIVER MONTGOMERY: Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for human affairs.

"So Black delegates had a lot of time to think about their problems," Davis said. "And any honest, self-respecting Black worker had to acknowledge that he had problems different from the majority of delegates. Also, Black delegates had a problem getting the floor and being heard when they tried to talk about the problems they faced."

The Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, Davis told me, grew out of these gatherings.

### Need to organize

"Black steelworkers—whether they called themselves caucuses or not—were seeing the need to get together."

"That's what the struggle is about—Black workers have to organize themselves to better represent themselves."

Under the David McDonald administration from 1953 to 1965 the USWA gave virtually no recognition to Black workers.

"There were whole departments," Davis said, "that were all-white—no Blacks at all—in the international structure. The civil rights committee was a farce—a committee in name only. There just wasn't any staffing and the union leadership shoved it to the side."

"Though we were 25 percent of the total membership we'd never been able to get any representation on the executive board."

"We had a three-point program: full integration of every department; reorganization of the civil rights committee and a Black appointed to head the committee; and a Black on the executive board of the union."

When I.W. Abel challenged McDonald for the presidency of the union in 1964, the Ad Hoc Committee presented its list of demands to him. Abel agreed to back them and the Ad Hoc campaigned to elect Abel.

They also carried out a campaign in union locals across the country. Ad Hoc supporters introduced resolutions calling for reorganization of the executive board and the appointment of two more vice-presidents—at least one of them Black.

"There was some movement under Abel," Davis said, "in terms of more Black staff, more Blacks in some departments—even if token. But Abel resisted the idea of putting Blacks on the executive board of the union."

Like McDonald and Philip Murray before him, Abel said that would be "reverse discrimination."

### Steelworkers Fight Back

In the USWA election last February the Ad Hoc Committee backed the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, headed by Ed Sadlowski. Oliver Montgomery, a Black steelworker leader, was a vice-presidential candidate on the slate.

The Ad Hoc Committee decided to back the Fight Back slate after the USWA convention in Las Vegas last September. "Unlike McBride, Sadlowski announced when there were only three candidates to be elected that he would run a Black," Davis said.

At the convention, to avoid the disaster of running an all-white slate against Sadlowski, the Abel machine created a new post of international vice-president for human affairs. Leon Lynch, a Black staff person, was appointed to the post and ran on the administration slate headed by Lloyd McBride.

"We resented Abel taking the right to choose a Black for us. We would have resented Sadlowski just picking someone too," Davis said. "Black folks should have that right."

"But Fight Back approached us to name somebody for the slate. So we drafted brother Montgomery who was one of the few Black staffers who was opposed to just putting a rubber stamp in that position."

Davis campaigned for the Fight Back slate with Oliver Montgomery, touring several cities across the country. Fight Back's ideas got a warm response despite the red-baiting and "outsider"-baiting from McBride forces.

"The one shortcoming of the campaign was that we simply couldn't get the program to enough people," Davis said. "In some areas the McBride people employed a lot of slanders. They claimed Sadlowski was strike-happy because he opposed the ENA."

ENA is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement secretly negotiated by Abel with the steel companies and signed without a vote of the union membership. Under ENA the union gives up the right to conduct a national strike.

### Too radical?

"They tried to claim Sadlowski was too radical," Davis told me. "But his program was not too radical for the

workers."

"I noticed in areas where there was opposition, once you got in and explained the program it was generally accepted. Because it was basically a good trade-unionist program."

"Sablowski had to say what he said because he spoke to the issues. Next time around steelworkers will not be fooled. They'll tend to look a lot more deeply into what people are saying."

Since the election, the new contract between the USWA and the basic steel industry has drawn the fire of many workers in basic steel. Davis pointed out that in his plant no one is satisfied with the contract.

Davis thinks that many workers will now try to make gains on unsettled local issues. "There's a lot to be done," he told me. "There were some definite ideas and concepts put forward during the campaign and we in the Ad Hoc intend to keep those alive and to fight for their adoption."

*Continued on page 30*

## Steel notes...

**DALLAS LOCAL STRIKES OVER LEAD POISONING:** Correspondent Marty Anderson in Dallas reports that United Steelworkers Local 3721 at Murph Metals went on strike May 6. The local has nearly 400 members.

"Driving by the plant," Anderson says, "it is easy to understand the main strike issue. The pickets wear masks over their noses and mouths to protect themselves from the lead in the air. The danger of lead poisoning at Murph is so great that workers take blood tests each week. If their lead level is too high they are laid off until it drops."

"Laid-off workers get seventy-seven dollars a week from workers' compensation. The workers are demanding that Murph pay the difference between this compensation and their regular wages."

"Commitment to the strike runs high because of the horror of lead poisoning. Not only older workers are affected. Workers have been laid off for 'high lead' after as little as four days on the job. Most workers go on and off the job frequently. Layoffs can last weeks and even months. The lead has killed some. Whole families are affected by contact with the poison—babies have been born with 'high lead.'"

"Murph is now importing scabs. A few have been turned back—some won to support the strike and others fearing the lead. Only a few workers are crossing the lines."

"Despite the strike's success so far, the workers feel isolated. The contract covers only their plant. Most are Black or Chicano, and the plant is located in poverty-stricken west Dallas. They realize that people living near the plant are also affected, and their support is needed to win. This is what the strikers hope for."

**SADLOWSKI AWARD CAUSES UPROAR:** The Student Bar Association of the Kent College of Law in Chicago named Ed Sadlowski to receive their Liberty Bell award, given annually to honor nonlawyers who "best exemplify the notions of justice and equality upon which our nation was founded." The students picked the Steelworkers Fight Back leader for his "efforts to bring democracy and basic human rights to the working people in American industry."

That didn't sit well with two executives of Inland Steel Company who happen to be trustees of the Illinois Institute of Technology, to which the law school is affiliated. Sadlowski is now involved in local negotiations with Inland.

Richard Goldstein, head of the Law Day committee, says the law school dean told him the morning of the award that one trustee had resigned in protest. IIT President Thomas Martin says nobody resigned but that the choice of Sadlowski upset many people, "including me." Martin says, "One trustee was sufficiently upset when he called me that he was going to resign. But he didn't."

Democracy and human rights for workers? What kind of talk is that? It's a wonder the trustees didn't shut the whole school down as a hotbed of subversion.

**HOW-YOUR-DUES-ARE-BEING-USED DEPARTMENT:** The international spent more than \$100,000 last month on full-page newspaper ads reportedly run in sixty-five steel towns. Signed by I. W. Abel, the ads describe the new basic steel contract as "unprecedented," "dramatic," and containing "the biggest gains in our history." The proof? Abel says that in 1936 steelworkers made sixty-six cents an hour. Now they make more.

Meanwhile, the union has sent each member in basic steel a booklet about the contract. *This is not the contract.* It is an "explanation" designed to sell Abel's policies to steelworkers. We'll take a closer look at it in next week's *Militant*. For now, just one question: if the contract is really so great, how come Abel and McBride still won't let the steelworkers read it?

—Andy Rose

## Gay rights vote

Not long ago Anita Bryant was a trouper in the Bob Hope show, preaching that GIs had the moral and patriotic duty to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age.

Today Bryant leads the troops of Save Our Children against a Dade County, Florida, ordinance that bars discrimination against gays in employment, housing, and public accommodations. Bryant's outfit is campaigning to repeal the ordinance in a June 7 referendum. Joining her are a host of reactionary forces slandering gays as "sick" and "perverted." They seek to enshrine their prejudices in law.

The most insidious appeal from Save Our Children is that openly gay teachers will provide "legitimate role models" for children.

Similar arguments have been raised by witch-hunters out to drive socialists and even liberals from the schools. Such legalized discrimination has weakened the democratic rights of everyone. Antigay discrimination is equally dangerous.

A victory for the bigots in Florida will strengthen their drive to stop Equal Rights Amendment ratification, school desegregation, and unionization. It would boost reactionary forces nationally.

All supporters of democratic rights should turn out June 7 to repudiate these right-wingers and support gay rights.

## ...Africa

*Continued from front page*

system" as "the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world."

- At the same meeting Young politely refrained from calling for Black majority rule or even an end to apartheid. Instead, he explained that "four or five million Blacks have to be brought into the system."

- For the millions of Blacks to be left outside "the system" he urged the South African capitalists to let a little trickle down . . . hurrying to assure them that does not mean that anything has to be "taken away from those at the top."

Meanwhile, in Vienna, Walter Mondale took his cue from Carter's April declaration that South Africa's racist regime "is a stabilizing influence in the southern part of that continent."

Avoiding talk of Black majority rule, Mondale spoke of "full participation" for Blacks in the government.

But Vorster, aware that the whole production is a charade, rejected even that.

"One thing was doctrine and theory, and another thing was practice," the May 22 *New York Times* reported.

But theory and practice for the U.S. corporations that rule through Carter both boil down to one word: *profits*.

It's this theory and practice that have built a prospering "free market" empire in South Africa at the expense of that country's 22 million Blacks.

Their theory and practice are currently paying off for them in record profits from their estimated \$1.6 billion in direct investments and \$2 billion in loans.

That's why Young and Mondale advocate only minor reforms in the racist South African setup. Their aim is to preserve the rights of corporate wealth in the face of the rising liberation struggle.

But the racist South African capitalists will no more voluntarily make even minor concessions to Blacks than did their counterparts in the American South.

Just as it took militant, mass struggles to defeat Jim Crow segregation here, it will take strikes and demonstrations like those in Soweto last June to secure every single gain there.

Those struggles, beginning as a fight for limited changes, will quickly challenge the fundamental precepts of the racist regime and of South African and foreign corporate interests.

Fear of this is what's behind the Carter-Young-Mondale charade.

Their goal is not to advance the cause of Black majority rule.

Their goal is to *create the false impression* that Washington has a new policy. They feel the need for this cover because of the deep sentiment for the African freedom struggle among the American people, especially Blacks.

Relying on Young, Mondale, or Carter to advance the cause of Black South Africans is a deadly trap.

We must rely on ourselves. That's the meaning of this weekend's African Liberation Day protests.

More such protests are needed. Supporters of Black majority rule must mount a massive, united campaign to get out the truth about Washington's intentions. As they learn the truth, more and more people will join with us to demand:

U.S. out of southern Africa now!

### Profound effect

I am writing about the Lewis W. Hine photos reviewed in the May 13 *Militant*. Those three pictures really had a profound effect on me, especially the one of the young girl at the loom. It set me to thinking of how rough life was for children in those days and how much working people and poor people suffered just to survive.

But it also showed me how capitalists exploited and took advantage of the poor and helpless here in this country to make it what it now is.

I am one of those people that hates injustice with a passion. I guess this is because I've been a victim of it so many times in my life.

I fight injustice in many ways. The way I do it best is by painting. I am a good artist, and I like to paint about the sad and unhappy things of life in order to keep it in front of people to reflect upon and question.

I intend to paint two of the photos that the *Militant* printed.

*A prisoner  
Pennsylvania*

### Disco, duck!

Discotheques in the Denver area have been systematically denying admission to Blacks.

Using such lame excuses as, "Blacks don't spend as much or tip as much as whites," the owners are, in fact, only trying to cover up their racism.

Blacks are excluded in ways similar to the ways they were prevented from voting in the South.

Numerous pieces of identification are required. "If you have two pieces of picture ID, they want three. If you have three, they want four," one person told the *Rocky Mountain News*.

A young Black man was kept out of one club until he produced four picture IDs. He was ejected from the club only a few seconds after he finally got in.

The local district attorneys and the state civil rights commission have warned the clubs they could lose their liquor licenses if the exclusions continue.

*M.P.  
Denver, Colorado*

### In memory of David Asnis

Enclosed is a contribution from David Asnis, who died in January. He firmly believed in a free and democratic society and in the Socialist Workers party as the party to lead to socialism.

Dave was close to the party since before World War II. He contributed to the struggle for civil rights, human rights, against injustice, and for socialism financially and by participation. He marched against the war in Vietnam. He gave out many a *Militant* and got new subscribers to the paper.

Dave loved classical music and particularly enjoyed playing several musical instruments, as well as running his health studio. But above all, he hated the capitalist, imperialist world of hunger, poverty, misery, and prisons. He looked forward to seeing a world of plenty for all, a humane and decent world—a socialist society.

*R.G.  
Howell, New Jersey*

### No justice

I am in receipt of my first *Militant*, and it has made my day!

Ninety percent of the prisoners in the Marion Federal Penitentiary long-

term lockup are Black. It's a place where human lives are wasted.

The racism has increased greatly since Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, slandered Blacks in an interview with the Chicago *Daily News*. Carlson claimed that Blacks are more violent than whites.

Blacks are subjected to hearings before all-white committees. The defendants are always found guilty. If the case is appealed, a committee member investigates the appeal. There just isn't any justice.

Rebellion alone isn't justice. But rebellion with unity has always won justice.

*A prisoner  
Illinois*

### Canadian reader

I really enjoy receiving your paper every week. It is such a good source of socialist ideas.

I've been living in this isolated southern Alberta community for ten months. Socialist ideas are just slowly progressing. There is not enough mention of issues of interest to U.S. socialists in Canadian papers; not even the Equal Rights Amendment.

Keep up the good work.

*Eileen Bittle  
Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada*

### Militants need 'Militant'

I've been working on preparing indexes for past years of the *Militant*. Doing the index for 1947 was stimulating and gratifying. At that time I was co-editor of the United Auto Workers Local 719 newspaper and had the opportunity to write the exposé of Truman and the Democratic party's lying role in the Taft-Hartley attack on the unions.

More than once it has occurred to me how valuable the *Militant* was then and how young militants today could find the reports of those struggles the key to victory.

*Howard Mayhew  
Preston Hollow, New York*

### Easy riders

The salaries of members of the House of Representatives have been raised to \$57,500. Theirs is a full-time job—or is it?

In January, they worked a total of thirteen days. In February, their working days totaled nine. In April, the House recessed from April 7 to April 17. The "honorable gentlemen's" Memorial Day weekend will consist of five days. Their July 4 celebration will stretch from July 1 to July 9. Not to forget the August recess, from August 6 to September 6!

They call us radicals when we petition to get them out of office, demonstrate for equality, or strike for decent wages.

They should consider themselves very lucky, instead.

*Glenn Mataoka  
Los Angeles, California*

### A real prince

Americans will be pleased to know that the British royal family is as socially conscious as ever. Recently, Prince Charles went on TV, asking for money to aid young people. His project was to involve "young football hooligans and chaps who ride motorcycles" in adventures such as sea

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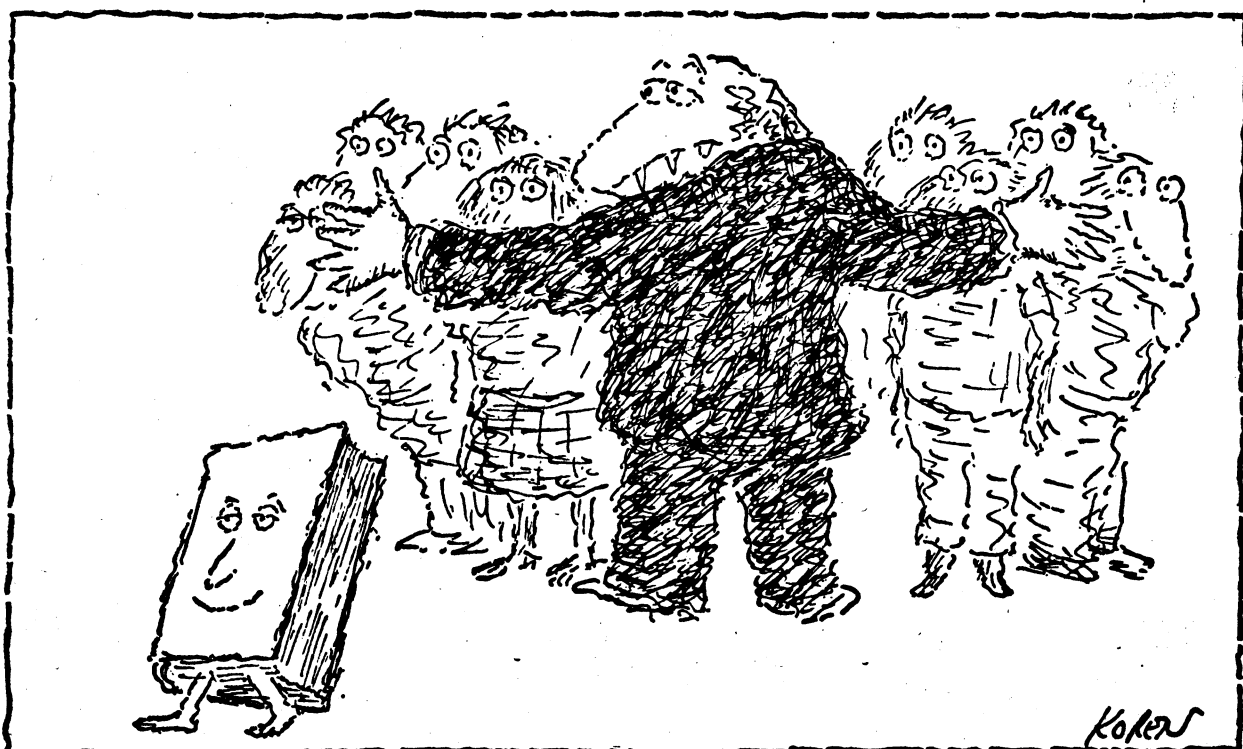
# international **socialist** review



## What Is Happening in China?

**A debate between  
Jack Smith,  
Les Evans,  
and William Hinton**

**Should  
Pornography  
Be Censored?  
By Steve Clark**



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Kremlin Blast at China

What is responsible for the danger of war in the world today? According to a commentary in the May 14 issue of the Soviet Communist party newspaper *Pravda*, the threat of war does not stem from the expansionist drive of the United States and other imperialist powers, which defend reactionary regimes and carry out bloody military interventions in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere.

Writing under the name I. Aleksandrov, the author of "Peking: A Course Toward Disrupting Detente Under the Cover of Anti-Sovietism" claims that the main source of war danger is the People's Republic of China, or, as he puts it in a burst of yellow-peril rhetoric, "the sword of Chinese militarism."

"China is today the only country in the world whose official circles advocate publicly and without any camouflage a new world slaughter," declares Aleksandrov. "... Is it not clear that the missile-nuclear race conducted by China ... is aimed at creating a danger not only to the Soviet Union and other countries neighboring on China, but also to world peace?"

The attempt to portray China's development of a nuclear deterrent as a cause of the arms race shows the frenzied factionalism of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Aleksandrov lets the driving forces behind the escalating arms race—Jimmy Carter and the capitalist rulers he represents—off the hook in order to strike at his Chinese foes.

Aleksandrov criticizes imperialist powers that adopt a friendly posture toward the Chinese regime, blasting them in terms reminiscent of the "soft on Communism" rhetoric of right-wing opponents of the Chinese revolution. He writes, "Certain Western circles ... delude themselves with the hope that they would be able to ward off Peking's expansionism from themselves and to channel it in a different direction." This mouthpiece for top Soviet officials warns these "circles" not "to forget the bitter lessons of recent history when pacification [appeasement] of an aggressor brought on a heavy catastrophe for the 'pacifiers' themselves and for world peace."

In the May 15 *New York Times*, Moscow correspondent Christopher Wren accurately interpreted Aleksandrov's article as proposing that "the West should be closing ranks with the Soviet Union to contain Chinese ambitions."

Aleksandrov's charges against the Chinese government are virtually identical to the verbal assaults of the Chinese leaders against "Soviet social-imperialism." Each accuses the other of being the main promoter of war in

the world, while presenting the United States and other imperialist powers as innocent bystanders menaced by "Soviet hegemonism" or "Chinese expansionism."

The charges made by both sides are groundless. Their shallowness is highlighted by the ease with which the Kremlin picks up Maoist accusations against the USSR and tosses them back in China's direction.

The Soviet Union and China are workers states, where industry is nationalized and the economy is planned. Unlike imperialist powers such as the United States, these societies are not driven to war by the need to beat down competitors and conquer new markets. In fact, the Soviet Union and China are ultimate targets of capitalist armaments and war plans. Workers states have a life-and-death interest in uniting against imperialist encroachments.

Instead, however, the Soviet and Chinese rulers compete for the favor of the imperialists. The meaning of this policy for the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world was demonstrated during the U.S. war against Indochina. In February 1972, Nixon was toasted by the Chinese leaders in Peking, while U.S. bombing of Vietnam reached new heights. Not to be outbid by the "Great Helmsman," Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev played host to Nixon a few months later, hailing him as a friend of peace, while the harbors of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were blockaded by U.S. mines and warships, and U.S. planes rained death on the Vietnamese people.

The same pattern can be seen in Africa today. While Moscow and Peking often back different forces in the region, both oppose socialist revolutions that would end imperialism's grip on the continent.

Peking ingratiated itself with the U.S. rulers by giving backhanded support to imperialist intervention in Angola and Zaïre. While Moscow gave needed military assistance to the Angolans in repulsing the South African invasion, it also supported the procapitalist aims of the MPLA regime. It is now helping to arm a bloody military dictatorship in Ethiopia.

In the Sino-Soviet polemics, both Soviet and Chinese officials claim to be the real defenders of socialism. But these Stalinist bureaucrats pursue basically similar policies with the same objective: an alliance with the imperialists at the expense of the world revolution.

The real roots of the Sino-Soviet dispute will not be found in the fraudulent name-calling indulged in by both sides. The conflict results from the domination of both states by privileged bureaucratic castes that seek to advance their own narrow interests to the detriment of working people at home and abroad.

Both ruling groups justify this course by reference to the theory of "socialism in one country." They claim that socialism can be completely achieved with the resources of a single country—their own—without any assistance from the world revolution, provided the imperialists can be dissuaded from

military intervention.

In reality, socialism—the elimination of economic want and inequality—requires the spread of socialist revolution on a world scale, including the abolition of capitalism in the most industrially advanced countries. The theory of "socialism in one country" expresses the outlook of privileged bureaucrats who feel they have "made it" economically and want to preserve the status quo.

This outlook leads the Chinese and Soviet regimes to place the search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the center of their policy. They offer political support to capitalist rulers who are willing to promise "peace" and economic aid. The political support given by the bureaucrats helps the capitalists prepare war by undermining the struggles of working people against capitalism.

In the first years after the victory of Mao's forces and the overthrow of capitalism in China, the Chinese bureaucracy sought "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism by supporting Soviet foreign policy. However, the Soviet leaders' narrowly nationalistic outlook led them to flagrantly ignore China's interests.

The Soviet leaders refused to press the U.S. government to recognize China and end the military encirclement and economic blockade of the Chinese people. They refused to provide nuclear technology, needed to defend China against the danger of a U.S. attack. They refused to give massive economic aid that the Chinese people needed to make rapid advances in overcoming economic underdevelopment. When the Chinese leaders objected, the Soviet rulers withdrew all economic aid and advisers in 1960—a blow that slowed China's progress.

At first, the Chinese government tried to pressure the Kremlin by making radical-sounding criticisms of their anti-internationalist attitude. Later, Mao adopted the present policy of offering to ally with the U.S. imperialists against the USSR.

It is this process that produced the grim absurdity of the Chinese leaders claiming to build "socialism in one country" by lining up with the imperialists against the Soviet Union, while the Soviet rulers assert that they defend "socialism in one country" by seeking an alliance with the imperialists against China.

As was the case during the Indochina war, the main beneficiaries of the efforts of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to incite imperialism against each other are the imperialists themselves. They get an opportunity to play off the competing bureaucracies against each other, while using both against the world revolution.

In order to put the USSR and China on the road of internationalism and workers democracy—the only real road to socialism—the Soviet and Chinese working masses need to carry out an antibureaucratic political revolution. Only a policy of revolutionary internationalism can eliminate the real source of the danger of war—the decaying and outmoded capitalist system.

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# What Is Happening in China?

## A Debate Between Jack Smith, Les Evans, and William Hinton

The following are excerpts from a debate that took place before 400 people at the University of Chicago on April 3, 1977. It was sponsored by the university's Student Government Speakers' Committee and chaired by Quentin Young, a doctor who had visited China as part of a medical-exchange program.

Les Evans is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party and former editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Jack Smith is managing editor of the *Guardian* newspaper. William Hinton is a former chairperson of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association and a well-known unofficial spokesperson for the Chinese government.

The following excerpts are taken from a transcript of a tape recording of the meeting, edited to eliminate repetition and grammatical awkwardness. The participants have been unable to edit their remarks. The questions have been condensed or paraphrased in some cases.

### Jack Smith

What's happening in China?

I'd first like to establish a context—three points, perhaps.

First, the *Guardian* regards China as the most advanced socialist country, ideologically and socially. We also believe that the necessity for economic development is particularly important at this stage of its development.

Regarding China in this way does not mean that we are without criticism. We have strong criticism on the question of regarding the Soviet Union as the main danger, on Angola, and on other things. But in general, it's fair to say we regard China as the leading socialist country.

Second, we regard Chairman Mao as the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and in particular regarding the subjects under discussion today. Chairman Mao's contributions regarding the continuation of class struggle under socialism and the centrality of the question of class struggle are important points that we agree with.

Third, we regard the Cultural Revolution as a profoundly important achievement in the people's struggle. There are many lessons to be learned from the Cultural Revolution for our own revolution.

The world was stunned last October, first by the death of Chairman Mao, and then by the arrests of the so-called gang of four. These were not just four minor party members or a small faction; they were four of the leading six members of the party Politburo and heretofore, at least, had been identified as the left wing of that party. All of them, to one degree or another, owed their elevation to their proximity to Chairman Mao.

There are many opinions as to what this means. Those who oppose the Chinese revolution will oppose it further. Among those who support China, there is considerable confusion. Some immediately accepted the verdict that the "gang of four" constituted a counterrevolutionary, ultrarightist group bent on the restoration of capitalism. I tend to think that those who axiomatically accepted this, without any doubt whatsoever, would likewise have accepted a reversal of the verdict if those now called the "gang of four" had arrested Hua Kuo-feng and charged him with capitalist-roading. Probably the next day they would have agreed with that as well. Our newspaper does not have respect for that opinion.

Others among the supporters of China saw this as a move to the right. We tend to view this as a somewhat ultraleftist analysis.

Others have no position, or at least have held back from taking a position at this point.

The fourth group among those who support China are those who agree with the ouster of the "gang of four," but with a certain degree of criticism. These criticisms range from the profound to the minor.

Our own position on the question of the "gang of four" is as follows. It is a legitimate campaign against left dogmatism, which, if carried too far, could lead to rightist errors. So far, we don't see any evidence of rightist errors, but things are far from settled.

### Cultural Revolution

The current situation in China is obviously connected to the Cultural Revolution. There is a direct continuity from this great upheaval to prevent capitalist restoration, which saw the leave taking of Liu Shao-ch'i, the leave taking of Teng Hsiao-p'ing (who was general secretary at the time), and the leave taking from positions of authority of thousands of officials, from top cadre to top party members.

The events of October are in line with that. There has been no break in the struggle that began in 1966. Those now characterized as the "gang of four" were on what could be called the winning side of the Cultural Revolution at that time—at least I think so. They survived the Cultural Revolution and the purges of the ultraleft that took place afterwards. Now, however, it appears they are being excoriated for

that stage. It appears there was a certain unity around the restoration of many of these officials, although it is altogether quite likely that the Politburo left wing did not anticipate that so many of them would be brought back so quickly—so many who, in their opinion, did not thoroughly self-criticize and change their ways.

This developed within a year or two into the beginnings of a campaign to criticize the restoration of a number of leaders, and particularly Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The campaign to criticize Confucius [launched by the Chinese government in 1974], of course, had two aspects. One aspect was quite good: to eliminate the remnants of feudal thinking. But another aspect was directed at those who were being restored to office. And indeed, some even carried it so far, it is now said, that it was partially directed at the late Premier Chou En-lai himself, as the person who launched the restoration—with Mao's approval, of course—of certain people to office.

In any event, the differences erupted again in the 1974-75 period, led from the left—in my opinion by the so-called gang of four. Throughout the period of 1974-75, the campaign against bourgeois rights [material inequality] developed. This was another attack on the return to office of a great many people who had been eliminated from office during the Cultural Revolution.

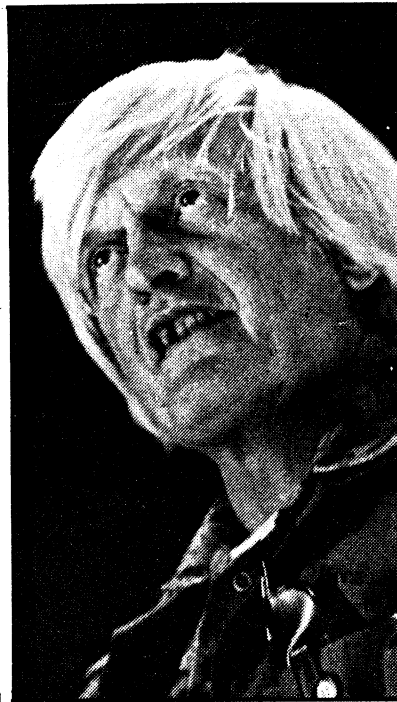
Nineteen seventy-five was a decisive year—not as decisive as 1976, but it set the stage. In January 1975 Premier Chou En-lai announced



JACK SMITH



LES EVANS



WILLIAM HINTON

ultraleft errors made in that period, under the guise of being capitalist-roaders.

Gradually over the years, these four people consolidated their power, especially in the realm of communications and culture, and to a certain degree within the party itself, although they always constituted a minority. It's our opinion that Mao Tsetung always backed them—with reservations perhaps, but it seems fairly obvious to whom they owed their support.

In the 1970s, for various reasons, the Chinese Communist party decided that Teng Hsiao-p'ing should be restored to office. To our knowledge, and according to Roxane Witke's new book, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, the four, or at least Chiang Ch'ing, did not oppose the restoration of Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

When Teng came back in 1973, along with him came back hundreds and thousands of officials in various positions. I don't pretend to know what went on within the Communist party at

China's great economic plan. He articulated a vision of a five-year plan, but at the same time he went much further, projecting a modernized, industrialized socialist state for China by the year 2000—an extraordinary goal. Part of this new plan was a call for "Four Modernizations" [in industry, agriculture, science-technology, and national defense].

But Chou En-lai was a dying man. During 1975 he was unable to carry out his functions as premier—or more and more unable, as time went on. And during this critical year of 1975—that is, during the year of the formation of the five-year plan, which was to launch this extraordinary advance in economic development—Teng Hsiao-p'ing, as a close assistant to Chou En-lai, assumed greater and greater responsibilities for the State Council, over which Premier Chou presided.

Throughout this period, the so-called gang of four obviously intensified their attacks against

*Continued on page ISR/7*

# Should Pornography Be Censored?

Prosecutors and antipornography crusaders say they're trying to rid America of "smut." The real targets of their attacks are freedom of the press, women's rights, and cultural nonconformity.

By Steve Clark

Despite doldrums elsewhere in the economy, these seem to be boom times for pornographers. And that, of course, means that business has also been bullish for prosecutors, politicians, and other antipornography crusaders.

As a result, an important question has been posed for socialists and other supporters of progressive social causes: Where should we stand on government censorship and obscenity statutes?

Attention most recently has focused on Larry Flynt, editor and publisher of *Hustler*, a monthly dedicated to raking in profits by degrading women and human sexuality in general. In February a Cincinnati jury found Flynt guilty of "pandering obscenity" and "engaging in organized crime." He was sentenced to up to twenty-five years in prison and fined \$11,000. (Similar charges against Flynt in Cleveland were recently thrown out by Judge Salvatore Calandra.)

The February 18, 1977, issue of the *Militant*, which reflects the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers party, condemned Flynt's conviction, calling it an attack on freedom of the press. "We have no kind words for Flynt or for his 'men's magazine,'" said the *Militant* editorial.

"But those who spearheaded Flynt's prosecution—the Citizens for Decent Literature—are no friends of women either. They're the same right-wing forces who oppose abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, busing, and a host of other democratic rights," the editorial continued.

"Every time these reactionaries succeed in their censorship drive," the *Militant* said, "it's a blow against everyone's right to free speech."

"We have to protect our country," proclaimed the prosecutor in Flynt's case. Today they're 'protecting' us from obscenity. Tomorrow it might be from abortion information, or a strike leaflet—or a socialist newspaper."

## What Others Said

Some other left-wing publications, however, have not been so clear in opposing government censorship.

The Maoist-leaning *Guardian*, for example, at first took a correct position on the Flynt case. An article by Jeff Segal in the February 23 issue called the ruling "a serious threat to the democratic rights of all to read and see and publish."

An article the following week, however, advocated government censorship of so-called chicken porn—that is, pornography depicting children. An editorial in the same issue took a contradictory and confused stand.

"Censorship, since it would be administered by an arbitrary, reactionary government . . . is neither a politically nor tactically sound method for halting this craven commerce in human beings," the *Guardian* said.

However, the editorial added, "the cause of civil liberties should not be permitted to becloud this question. . . . Any absurdly purist interpretation of civil liberties only serves to erode their foundation. . . ."

Actually it is this editorial disclaimer that "beclouds this question." No consistent supporter of democratic rights would advocate the exploitation of children by profiteering pornographers. So if defense of civil liberties is not the *Guardian's* basis for opposing censorship in such cases, then what is?

## Yes or No?

Similar ambiguity cropped up in an editorial in the March-April 1977 issue of the radical pacifist

magazine *Liberation*. "If [the Flynt] conspiracy conviction is allowed to stand," the editorial correctly stated, "everyone's legal rights will be potentially diminished."

Yet the editorial went on to express disagreement with "those civil libertarians who are dedicated to the concept of ultimate and absolute freedom of the press."

*Liberation* implied that it might have backed Flynt's conviction if the charge had not been obscenity, but instead demeaning women. "It is time to re-evaluate the legality and morality of freedom of expression which involves exploiting and demeaning other people," the editorial said.

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, didn't take an editorial stand on the Flynt case. Columnist Erik Bert did comment on it in the March 11, 1977, issue, however.

Bert's article dismissed any notion that freedom of the press was at stake in the Cincinnati conviction. According to Bert, the case of Flynt "illuminates the nature of the freedom of the press which Flynt defends so heroically."

"In the context of just 'Hustler' and 'Chic' [another magazine Flynt publishes] it means the freedom to impair or not impair the minds of millions of readers."

Bert's view of freedom of the press is called into question by his bald assertion that "literature" is not suppressed in the Soviet Union, under obscenity or any other statutes."

That should come as a surprise to many Soviet authors who have had their works censored, suppressed, and even used as evidence to justify sending them to prisons and mental institutions. For Bert, all this is part of the Soviet bureaucrats' duty to protect millions of delicate Soviet minds from "impairment" by exposure to critical thoughts.

## Reactionary Offensive

Any ambiguity or backtracking on opposing government censorship today comes at a particularly inauspicious time, since right-wing forces and capitalist courts and politicians are on an offensive around the question.

It is no accident that this "decency campaign" coincides with a whole host of attacks on democratic rights won by Blacks, women, and others as a result of the rise in social struggles during the 1960s and 1970s.

- Congress, Carter, and the Catholic church are waging a concerted drive to roll back abortion rights.

- School desegregation, equal housing, and affirmative-action programs are all under attack.

- In Florida, Anita Bryant is leading the charge against a Miami gay rights ordinance. She has joined forces with opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights in that state.

- One of Bryant's cohorts—Stop ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly—has used her syndicated column to rally support for locking Larry Flynt away for twenty-five years. Her columns are regularly filled with attacks on Blacks, feminists, unionists, radicals, and anyone else associated in any way with human progress.

Democratic and Republican politicians have latched onto the pornography issue to whip up sentiment against "permissiveness" and facilitate a crackdown on the gains of the past two decades. Their "decency" crusade, they also hope, will allow them to deflect some attention away from their all-out assault on the living standards and social services of working people.

New York's Mayor Abraham Beame seems to be the ablest practitioner of this game. His prospects in the upcoming fall election have been considerably dimmed by New Yorkers' anger over education cutbacks, hospital closings, and some 50,000 layoffs of city workers.

So last March, Beame decided to show his mettle by personally leading a police raid on several Manhattan pornography establishments. Of course, he denied any crass vote-catching motive in all this.

When an appellate court judge reopened the establishments later in the day, Beame angrily called the ruling "an outrageous subversion of the will of the people."

New York's Cardinal Cooke jumped on Beame's bandwagon, briefly interrupting his campaigns against abortion rights, divorce, and allowing women into the priesthood.

In a guest editorial in the April 9 New York *Daily News*, Cooke warned, "From this time on, no mayor, commissioner, district attorney or judge should feel safe in office or in running for office if he or she does not declare himself or herself in favor of supporting law-enforcing action against" pornographers. The prelate evidently hopes that antipornography rhetoric will help fuel his other reactionary campaigns.

## Recent Rulings

Recent court rulings have provided dangerous ammunition for this war on freedom of speech and the press.

In 1973 and 1974 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that films or literature are obscene if they offend the average person applying contemporary community standards. The court made it clear that by "community standards" it meant the prevailing attitudes in any given village, town, city, or state.

Under this new interpretation, for example, Flynt was convicted for offending "contemporary community standards" in Cincinnati, headquarters of the right-wing Citizens for Decent Literature.

Similarly, Al Goldstein—editor of *Screw* magazine—was dragged from his headquarters in New York last year to Wichita, Kansas, where he was indicted on federal obscenity charges. He faces five years in jail on each of twelve counts—a total of sixty years!

A federal judge has postponed the trial while Goldstein undergoes surgery. The judge turned down a requested change of venue to New York, agreeing only to move the trial to Kansas City, Kansas.

In another case, Harry Reems, a New York actor, was convicted in a Memphis, Tennessee, court. Reems, who appeared in the film *Deep Throat*, was arrested on federal conspiracy charges because prints of the movie had been shipped to various parts of the country. He faced five years in prison, until charges against him were dismissed earlier this year. (The dismissal was granted on the grounds that Reems' "crime" was committed prior to the 1973 "community standards" decision.)

Who knows which author, actor, or editor will be dragged halfway across the country next to be tried and slammed in jail for what some fanatical prosecutor finds objectionable?

## War on Nonconformity

The National Ad Hoc Committee Against Censorship cites several other examples of such "community standards."

- The governor of New Hampshire withheld a state arts council grant to a literary magazine because he considered a particular poem offensive.

- One Illinois community censored Edgar Lée Masters's *Spoon River Anthology*.

- The mayor of Florissant, Missouri, announced plans to bar from a municipal theater any play that had been made into a movie with an X or R rating.

- A North Dakota school district fired a school teacher for assigning James Dickey's *Deliverance*.

Steve Clark is a member of the *Militant* editorial staff.



ance and Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five*. The school district also burned the books!

### Racist Uses

Another recent example is the decision last year by the Island Trees school board in Levittown, New York, to ban nine books from the high school library. The books included *The Best Short Stories by Negro Writers*, edited by Langston Hughes; Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*; *Down These Mean Streets* by Puerto Rican novelist Piri Thomas; Bernard Malamud's *The Fixer*, a novel about anti-Semitism; and Richard Wright's *Black Boy*.

The school board said that the "books contain obscenities, blasphemies, brutality, and perversion beyond description." To mask the transparently racist intent of the decision, board members also charged that the books contained "material offensive to Christians, Jews, Blacks, and Americans in general."

The real aim of the ban, however, was clear: to "protect" Levittown students from books by and about Blacks and Puerto Ricans and from any literature that deals with sexuality or any other topic the board deems inappropriate or unorthodox.

### Who Decides?

These examples zero in on one of the major problems with censorship: Who decides what to ban? And on what basis?

What about gay newspapers and feminist publications? What about information on abortion and contraception?

What about *Flying*, feminist Kate Millett's book that deals, among other things, with lesbianism? Or other literature and art by and about homosexuals?

What about the novels of Black writer James Baldwin? Or the movie *Last Tango in Paris*, directed by Italian Communist party supporter Bernardo Bertolucci?

And there is literally no end to the list of films and literature that some people consider pornographic and that *will be banned*—at least in some parts of the country—if censorship laws are strengthened.

Of course, many of us would agree that certain movies, books, and magazines are dedicated to nothing but making a fast buck by degrading sexuality. We have a right to hold and publish that opinion, and a right to pass up such films and publications.

But we don't have a right to tell other people that *they* must share our opinion and must read and see only what we give a prior stamp of approval.

And it is downright dangerous to allow the capitalist government—which is always on the lookout to limit free expression—to determine for all of us what we can read, see, and publish.

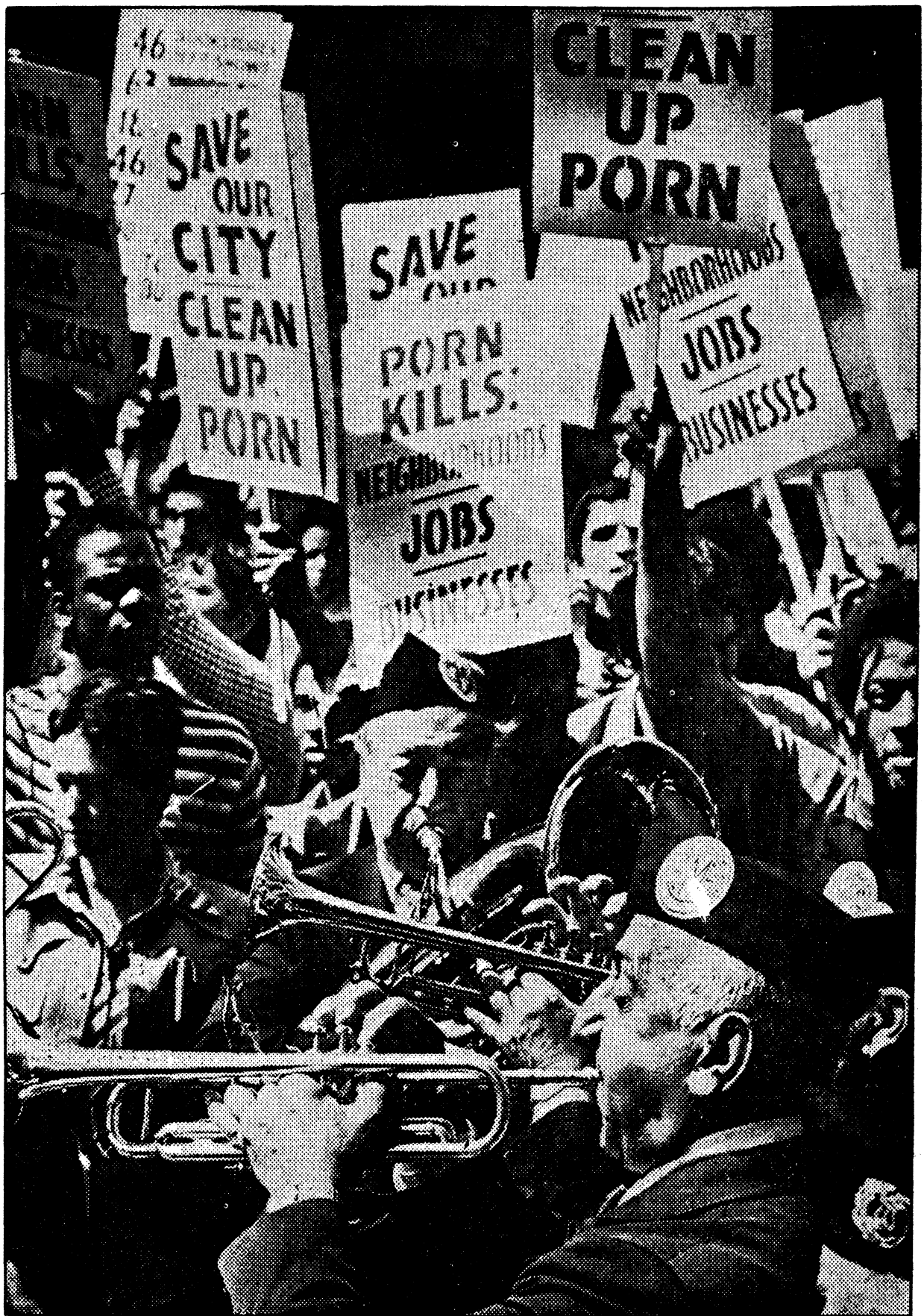
Some of the dangers were pointed to by poet Susan Sherman in a symposium on pornography in the current issue of the film magazine *Cineaste*: "Censorship laws in this country although brought in by legislation against films like *Deep Throat* will never be used against pornography, sexism or racism in any real way. I believe the resurgence of discussion of pornography at this time is to pave the way for further Supreme Court reactionary decisions, to set up legal weapons against 'permissiveness', a word which has always been used basically against the 'enemies' of the establishment—real erotic and political films and literature—to cite a few examples: Lenore Kandel's love poems, Ginsburg's *Howl*, Joyce's *Ulysses*."

### Danger to Feminist Movement

Although pornography certainly insults and degrades women, censorship will in no way advance the goals of the feminist movement. "Historically, obscenity laws have been an obstacle to women's liberation," feminist Ellen Willis wrote in the March 24 *Rolling Stone*.

"It was obviously harder to combat the double standard, affirm women's right to sexual pleasure and reproductive freedom, or educate women about their sexuality in an atmosphere where such subjects could not be freely discussed."

Anyone tempted to support censorship, Willis says, would "do well to keep in mind that 15 years ago newspapers referred to abortions as 'illegal operations' and did not refer to contraception at all, while books like *Our Bodies, Our-Selves* and *The Hite Report* were unheard of."



Antipornography rally in New York's Times Square

Willis points to a petition circulated in New York City last year calling on the district attorney to ban *Snuff*, a disgusting movie that portrays a woman being hacked to death. (*Snuff*'s promoters falsely sought to create the impression that the actresses were actually murdered in the film.)

The petition was signed by eighty-two prominent New Yorkers, including radical activists and intellectuals such as Dave Dellinger, Grace Paley, Susan Sontag, and Eric Bentley.

"Though I share the impulse behind [the petition]," Willis writes, "I think these appeals for an official crackdown are mistaken and dangerous. . . . Feminists who support censorship are offering the state a weapon that will inevitably be used against us. The conservative opposition to porn has never objected to its misogyny, only to its rebellion against official mores. . . ."

### Real Target

Willis is correct in refusing to compromise on censorship. The aim of the capitalist courts and politicians and the right-wing groups pushing for stricter censorship laws is not to combat the oppression, exploitation, and degradation of women.

Far from it! These are the very people who are responsible for women's oppression and who have resisted every gain of the feminist movement.

The censors' real aim is to use every opportunity to extend their control and monopoly of ideas in schools, in literature, on television, in newspa-

pers, in movie houses, and everywhere else.

Each time they score a victory, a blow is dealt to the rights of socialist groups, women's organizations, trade unionists, Black groups, artists, and anyone else whose ideas don't square with those of the wealthy minority who rule this country and the politicians and Bible-thumpers who serve their interests.

To advocate tighter censorship is to ignore the real causes of pornography and other cultural and social ills in capitalist society.

"The existence of class-divided society and the nuclear family spawn the two major sources of pornography: 1) the oppression of women; and 2) the sexual and emotional misery that characterizes human relationships and sex roles today.

As long as these oppressive social conditions persist, so will pornography. If pornography is banned, a black market will simply spring up to take its place.

### New Society

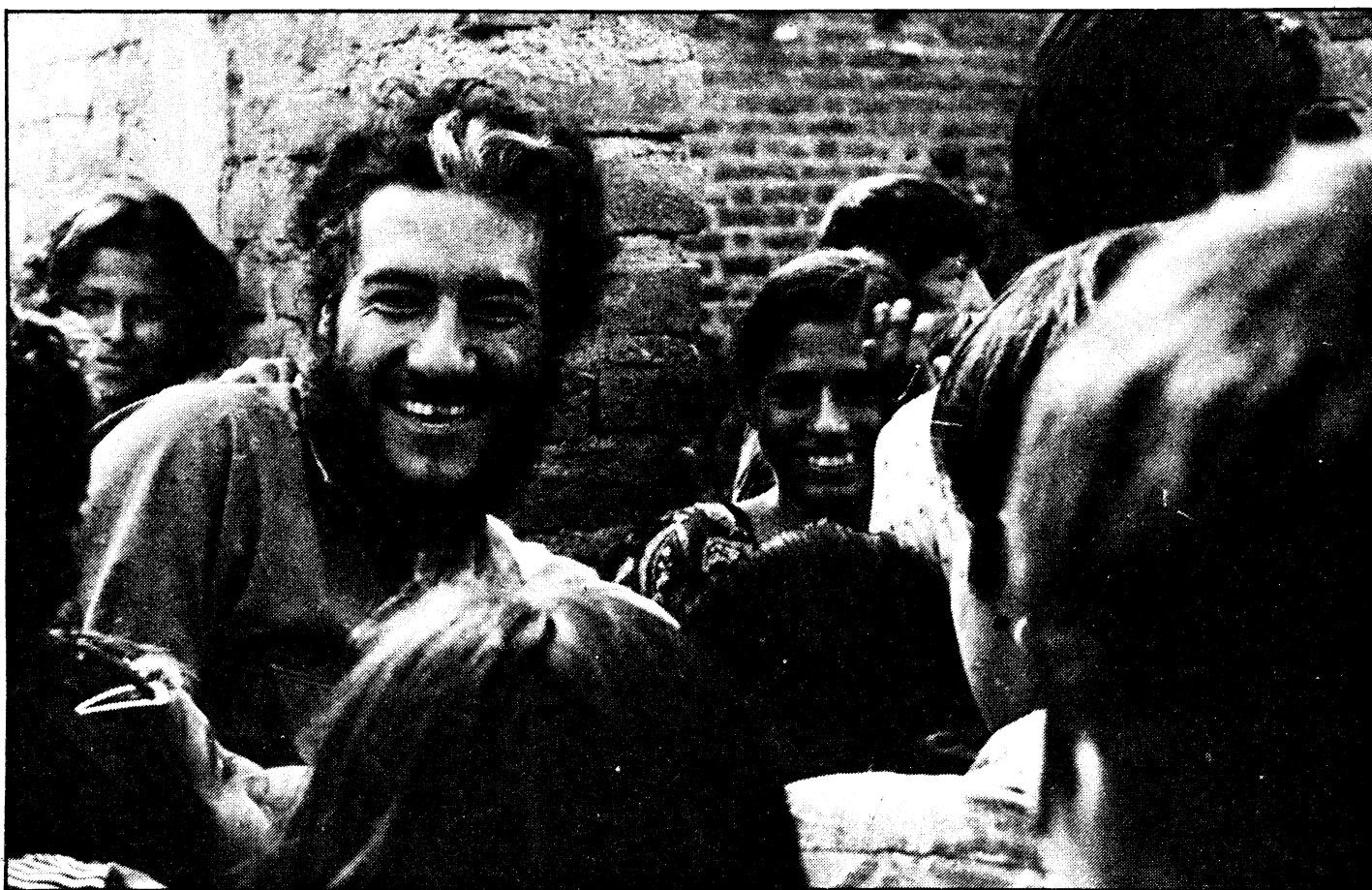
The goal of socialists, feminists, and other opponents of oppression must be to create a new, classless society based on different human and social relationships.

That fight will find no allies among government prosecutors and the Citizens for Decent Literature.

In order to continue raking in their profits, the capitalist rulers perpetuate the myth that the individual family must shoulder almost the entire responsibility for housework, meals, child care, and other necessities of life. Essential to

*Continued on page ISR/12*

# Let Hugo Blanco in the U.S.!



Hugo Blanco is greeted on his return to La Convención, Peru. He was later deported because of his socialist views.

Following is the text of a letter from Pathfinder Press, Inc. to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in response to the refusal of the INS to grant a visa to the exiled Peruvian peasant leader and revolutionist Hugo Blanco.

Blanco is the author of the book 'Land or Death,' which recounts the history and political lessons of the massive peasant movement he led in Peru in the early 1960s. The book has been translated and published in several languages.

In July 1976 Blanco was deported for a second time from Peru, with no charges or explanation from the Peruvian government to justify such action. He is living in exile in Sweden.

Pathfinder Press has released this letter to the press in preparation for organizing a protest campaign in case the visa for Blanco is definitely refused.

Pathfinder Press, Inc.  
410 West Street  
New York, N.Y. 10014

April 20, 1977

Immigration and Naturalization Service  
U.S. Department of Justice  
26 Federal Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10007

Re: File No. NYC-N 53847

Hugo BLANCO GALDOS

On March 8 our firm submitted a petition to your office for an H-1 visa for Hugo Blanco Galdos, the Peruvian peasant leader and author, for a U.S. speaking tour at leading academic institutions.

In a form letter dated April 14 your office returned this petition and supporting documentation, saying that: "Allegation of 'distinguished merit and ability', as defined by the Immigration and Nationality Act, revised, require support in the form of critical reviews, impartial assessments and awards and citations accrued, relating to the beneficiary's field of endeavor. Evidence submitted to date does not establish the pre-eminence of the beneficiary in a particular field, whether literary, political, sociological or philosophical, when compared with distinguished practitioners of such disciplines. Please re-submit this petition with such assessments, reviews or awards or other pertinent evidence."

Your contention is hard to understand since Mr. Blanco's "pre-eminence" in several fields was amply demonstrated by more than 100 pages of documents and testimonials submitted to your office. Included were literary reviews from trade publications in the publishing industry as well as

personal testimonials from prominent academicians as to Mr. Blanco's literary and political credentials.

For example, one submission quoted from *Choice's* review of his *Land or Death*, noting that they had characterized it as one of the "outstanding" academic books for 1972. Another quoted the *Library Journal* as saying "... necessary reading for those involved with contemporary Latin America."

In addition, we enclosed a *Boston Globe* editorial of Nov. 22, 1975, which noted that Mr. Blanco is "a recognized spokesman for freedom and dissent." In addition, a letter from C. Peter Magrath, president of the Univ. of Minnesota, dated Sept. 24, 1975, stated that "Mr. Blanco is acknowledged to be a very talented writer and spokesman for his cause."

Also included were samples of the editorials (*Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Washington Post*, etc.), resolutions from academic associations (Latin American Studies Association, American Library Association, etc.) and many letters of concern and protest from prominent citizens (including 11 U.S. Senators and Representatives, nobel prize winners, numerous academicians, etc.) written when an earlier attempt was made to exclude Mr. Blanco from the U.S.

Your negative response, ignoring the extensive documentation from recognized journals and respected academicians, raises a number of disturbing questions.

Who within the INS passed on the literary merits of Mr. Blanco's writings? Which critics, if any, can be cited in opposition to the praise from the *Library Journal*, *Choice* or *Publisher's Weekly*? Were critics retained by the agency to review Mr. Blanco's works?

We must say that we find the very idea that the INS should assume the role of literary critic, passing on the merits of this or that author objectionable. Given the Service's record of refusing visas for critics of U.S. foreign policy or representatives of left-wing persuasions, we fear that censorship, not impartial literary criticism, can be the only result of such a practice.

Who sat in review of Mr. Blanco's accomplishments in the political arena or as a spokesman for human rights? On what basis, or by whom, were the testimonials submitted rejected?

In your response appears the phrase "... when compared with distinguished practitioners of such disciplines (our emphasis)." May we ask which other "practitioners" of peasant movements was Mr. Blanco compared with? With which other spokesman for the landless peasants of Latin America? With which other peasant authors? Indeed, who else has even led such a

massive peasant movement for land reform?

We submit that Mr. Blanco is unique in his exceptional ability to speak on the subjects of the peasant movements and human rights in Latin America, the central purpose of his visit to the United States.

In ignoring the submitted proof of Mr. Blanco's "distinguished merit and ability," we are left with the conclusion the INS utilized another criterion for not granting the visa as requested, a political one. We must conclude that it disagrees with his political views, often critical of the role of the U.S. in Latin America, deciding to use the supposed lack of documentation as a cover for the essentially political decision to refuse him entrance.

This raises another important question. Does this decision represent the new administration policy on travel to the U.S. as recently defined by President Carter? On March 17, in a speech to the United Nations, he said: "I have just removed all restrictions on American travel abroad, and we are moving now to liberalize almost completely travel opportunities to America." At an earlier press conference the President stated: "We are a signatory of the Helsinki agreement. We are ourselves culpable in some ways for not giving people adequate rights to move around our country or restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us politically."

Have new guidelines for the issuance of visas to "those who disagree with us politically" been issued? If so, what are they? Or are the provisions of the McCarran Act, excluding those critical of the U.S. from the left, still in force?

We have no choice but to appeal this rejection of our application and ask for an immediate reversal of the decision, on the basis that ample documentation was provided with the original application.

Failure to issue a visa for Mr. Blanco's visit would constitute proof that the U.S. continues to violate important human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords which must be brought to public attention and to the attention of the delegates assembling for the second Helsinki conference to be held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, this coming June.

Sincerely,  
s/Margaret Brundy  
Managing Editor  
c.c. President Jimmy Carter  
Sec. of State Cyrus Vance  
Helsinki Oversight Committee, U.S.  
Congress



# ...China

Continued from page ISR/3

Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his supporters within the Communist party. He and his supporters were now not only brought back to office, but indeed were charged with the responsibility of formulating the economic plan of China, which could go either left or right. The "gang of four" obviously did not trust the man in charge of this responsibility.

It was in the fall of 1975 that Hua Kuo-feng began to rise to national prominence. The battle lines were drawn, and they became clearer and clearer throughout the year. In the fall, a campaign was launched against Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who would automatically have succeeded Premier Chou, at least in my opinion. Most Chinese at the time said as much.

But, anticipating the death of Chou, and trying to stop Teng Hsiao-p'ing's assumption of the premiership, the Politburo left launched a campaign that evidently won Mao's backing. Chou died in January, a year after the important economic speech. Teng Hsiao-p'ing read the funeral speech and then was not seen again in public. After a period of wonderment as to what happened to him, the attacks against Teng became quite pointed. Then it was announced that Hua Kuo-feng was the acting premier.

Events followed rather swiftly. The Tien An Men episode [the demonstration of 100,000 at Tien An Men Square in Peking on April 5, 1976] was used as the occasion for the removal of Teng from office. He lost everything but his party card.

## Complete Turmoil

From that period on, China was in complete turmoil. It is now referred to as the most difficult period the country has faced since liberation. And it obviously was.

The direction of Chou and Mao was no longer there. Everyone realized Mao was dying. Without these two leaders, with an untested new leader, with succession in a shambles, and with the economy in grave difficulties, there was a certain stirring and malaise across the nation.

At this stage it was evident to the party left wing—that is, to the "gang of four"—that with Mao dead, the question of whether China would go left or right was on the immediate agenda. Throughout that late spring and summer they obviously were involved in attempting to lay the groundwork for hegemony over the party with the death of the chairman.

They launched a campaign to take control of the country, if at all possible, to take it out of the hands of those they characterized as capitalist-roaders. The attacks went right up to the top. Although veiled, these were public attacks on Hua Kuo-feng as well.

Now, we think, to a certain extent, that the present campaign against the "gang of four" is a good thing. There has obviously been a repressive environment in China for the past several years. Obviously there was a stultification in the realm of culture, literature, and art. And obviously the economy was suffering considerably, and it would not be capable of achieving the goals set forth by Premier Chou if there were not some major changes.

But the campaign against the "gang of four" raises many questions. First of all, the characterization of the four as capitalist-roaders. We don't think this has at all been proven, at least scientifically, in Marxist terms. We think they were left dogmatists, we think they took Chairman Mao's theories and deviated to the left, and caused great harm to the country in the process. But to call them conscious rightists beclouds the issue.

Another question that is raised is on the life-style of the four. We find it impossible to believe that high-ranking Politburo members could have behaved in the reprehensible manner these four are accused of and not have been chastened by the masses, by Mao, or by the party.

It raises the question, how could the four do all of this for all these years—hamper the economy, be capitalist-roaders, be pornographers, be rightists, be Kuomintang agents—and no one could stop them? And yet the masses knew about this. We find this difficult.

This leads to two more questions, which are painful. How could all of this have happened without the knowledge of the beloved Chairman Mao? And to what extent, we wonder, is Mao Tsetung himself being criticized in the current campaign against the "gang of four"? Also, to what extent is the Cultural Revolution being criticized? It is possible that the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution are being overturned—or perhaps the correct policies of Chairman Mao—in the name of criticizing the "gang of four."

Mao may have made errors. The *Guardian* tends to regard him extremely highly. Of course, being human, he made errors. But we have yet to discern any important ones. If he did, if this is what it's all about, what were those errors?

To summarize: In general, we think good will come out of the campaign. We think China must develop economically, and probably the only way to do it is to get rid of these people in the Politburo whose left dogmatism did take on a reactionary content. And so far, the leadership says class struggle is still the key link. These are two good things.

But the question of whether the campaign is being carried too far, opening the door to the right, still remains. It is the most important question facing China today.

## Les Evans

Momentous events have taken place in China over the past year. Jack Smith summarized some of them: the death of Chou En-lai, the denunciation and purge for the second time of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as an "unrepentant capitalist-roader," the massive Tien An Men demonstrations of April 1976, the death of Mao Tsetung, and then, only weeks afterward, the arrest of the four best-known members of the Chinese Communist party Political Bureau. These people have yet to be brought to trial and have yet to make any public statements in their own defense.

If these people are guilty merely of errors, of mistakes, then why this campaign of accusations? The new government of Hua Kuo-feng has listed a whole series of charges against the "gang of four," not just mistakes. It says they are rightists, that they are fascists, that for many years they have instituted fierce repression against the workers, peasants, and students of China. Further, it is claimed, the economic policies they carried out—not only during Mao's last illness, but over the whole past period of three to five years—were policies aimed at the restoration of capitalism in China.

Today there are sweeping changes under way in terms of the political slogans put forward by the government and in economic and political priorities. In my opinion, these constitute a new and different line of policy—although still in a bureaucratic framework—from what existed during the Cultural Revolution and under the government of Mao Tsetung.

Many Maoist organizations around the world have drawn the same conclusion and have rejected the current government's explanations of what has taken place. The Communist League of West Germany and the Revolution group of France, organizations that number in the thousands and are among the largest Maoist organizations in Western Europe, have denounced Hua Kuo-feng as the "capitalist-roader." They say that what is going on in China today is a betrayal of Maoism.

In this country we see a similar disarray on the part of the followers of the government of the People's Republic of China. The largest Maoist organization, the Revolutionary Communist party, has been completely silent on the question of China. They haven't published a single article or statement containing their view of the new government or the "gang of four" in the six months since the purge took place.

The October League has lined up uncritically behind the regime.

The *Guardian* has also supported the new government but, to its credit, it has asked for facts and not just assertions. Jack Smith, on the platform here today, tried to apply to the new situation in China the political line he learned from Mao. I want to examine some of the things Jack Smith has written, to see how that application has worked out.

First, on the question of whether the "gang of four" are "capitalist-roaders." In the last decade,

the Chinese Communist party has adopted the practice of accusing all its major factional opponents of being agents of the bourgeoisie and aiming at the restoration of capitalism. I want to explain where I stand on this question first, in the most general sense.

## Great Progressive Event

The Socialist Workers party considers the Chinese revolution to have been a great progressive event in world history. We support the socialized property forms established by that revolution and the achievements made possible by that planned economy. We would defend the Chinese workers state against any attempt, domestic or foreign, to reintroduce private



MAO TSETUNG



CHOU EN-LAI



HUA KUO-FENG



About 100,000 persons protested removal of wreaths in honor of Chou in Peking's Tien An Men Square. Suppression of demonstration challenged Mao regime's claim to be democratic on April 5, 1976.

property or to genuinely restore capitalism.

But defending the Chinese workers state is not the same as defending any particular government of China or any particular set of policies put forward by this or that faction within the government.

Jack Smith says he agrees the charge is untrue that Mao's closest collaborators are "capitalist-roaders" or a "bourgeoisie." I would ask him then to look back and say, wasn't it also untrue when it was charged a year ago against Teng Hsiao-p'ing? Wasn't it also untrue that Lin Piao was a capitalist-roader? And Liu Shao-ch'i? Were any of them capitalist-roaders? Or was this simply a convenient epithet the government has used to cut off debate, to silence and defeat an opposition? What conclusions do we draw about the Marxist claims of a government that uses such a method?

I say that the issue of capitalist restoration in China is a false issue. I would like to discuss four real issues that I think are at the heart of Chinese politics today.

First is the abandonment after Mao's death of many of the central slogans of the Cultural Revolution period. These were policies that had become known around the world as essential to the very concept of Maoism.

Second, the degree of repression of the Chinese masses, which has been revealed by the new government.

Third, the extent of the privileges in "life-style" of the top leaders of the government, also as revealed by the new regime itself in its attacks on the "gang of four."

And finally, the stirring of mass discontent, as indicated by the Tien An Men demonstration, and the degree to which this has affected the policies of all the factions involved.

In the November 3 *Guardian*, Jack Smith granted the possibility, as he did here today, that the new government constitutes what he calls a move to the right, a break with the policies of Maoism. In the *Guardian* article he suggested four or five positions he considered central to Maoist policy. Here is what he wrote:

"Were all official criticism of Teng to suddenly cease it might be possible to lend some support to the anti-Maoist reversal speculation; or if the criticism of Confucius-Lin Piao metamorphosed into criticism of Lin Piao only, or if the thesis that the bourgeoisie is to be found within the party were refuted."

In a later article he added another yardstick. He said it would be a sign of an attack on Mao if "the party center now in command of China [were] to disregard Chairman Mao's most important instruction to 'take class struggle as the key link.'"

Well, in fact, every single one of those things has happened since Jack Smith wrote those articles. Let me go over some quotations from the Peking press to show this.

In November 1976 the Academy of Sciences in China officially issued a correction withdrawing

the designation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as an "unrepentant capitalist-roader." At that time all official criticism of Teng ceased.

Concerning the anti-Confucius campaign, there was a radio broadcast—picked up, transcribed, and published in the West—by the People's Liberation Army General Staff Propaganda Group at the beginning of March 1977, that said the "gang of four" cooked up the anti-Confucius campaign. The broadcast states: "They drew up secret plans and launched a flagrant attack on the party by flaunting the banner of criticising Lin Piao and Confucius." It declared that the whole campaign was a bunch of "rubbish."

Concerning Mao's claim that there was a bourgeoisie inside the party: This is now denounced by the regime as an excuse for purging veteran cadres. It obviously was. If you can say that your factional opponent represents the "bourgeoisie," then they are a class enemy.

The March 14, 1977, issue of the Peking *People's Daily* ran a front-page article that said, "By spreading the notion that there is a bourgeois class within the party, the 'gang of four' and the mass media under their control completely ignored the ABCs of Marxism."

Finally, when Mao was alive the "key link" was "class struggle." Now the "key link" is defined differently. It is defined in the March 24 *People's Daily* as to "expose and criticise the gang of four." The "gang of four" are being accused up and down China of overstressing "class struggle," of underestimating economic development, of sabotaging the economy. So the "key link" now is to develop production, and "class struggle" has gone out the window.

#### Gang of Four and Mao

There has been an attempt to blame everything on the "gang of four." But is it really conceivable that these relative newcomers to party leadership, all of whom were promoted in the last ten years by Mao, could impose policies on the party majority or could twist Mao around their thumb and make him go along with policies with which he disagreed? I don't believe that. You cannot escape holding Mao responsible for them, especially since it was obvious that they could not be removed from their positions until Mao was safely dead. Mao emerges rather clearly as the protector and ideologist of the so-called gang of four.

The Chinese press has argued that Mao privately criticized these people, calling on them to reform. There is not much documentary evidence of this. But even if it were true, the "gang of four" are not accused simply of mistakes; they are accused of serious crimes against the working class. The press accuses them of throwing political prisoners into jail for disliking Chiang Ch'ing's movies. They are accused of firing workers from their jobs, of deporting people to the countryside, and even of torture and executions. They are accused of

stealing from the state treasury for their own benefit.

If you take the position that these charges are true, then Mao is not simply guilty of failing to reform these people; he is guilty of covering up crimes committed by members of his own personal circle and his own family against the Chinese masses.

In the time I have left, I want to cite some examples showing why I believe that the charges against the "gang of four" are not just exaggerations by the regime—although some of them are fabricated—but reflect the true state of affairs in China.

When the newspapers publish the names and dates of the arrests of dozens of political prisoners, mostly in the fields of art and literature—as they do—that is not a vague charge of repression. Specific people are named, and that can be verified. I think this is just the tip of the iceberg of political repression in China.

Other charges relate to the question of privilege. We know from people who have visited China that the top government officials make salaries of around 400 yuan a month, compared with 60 yuan for a skilled worker and 30 for a peasant. That is a salary spread of thirteen-to-one. That's almost the difference between the incomes of someone on the board of General Motors and an assembly-line worker.

But the Chinese press has gone further. It has claimed that the "gang of four" had villas, that they had foreign films flown in for their evening's entertainment, that they had staffs of servants, that they would rope off whole parks for their private enjoyment—things that go far beyond what those salaries could buy.

When I first read these kinds of charges in the Chinese press, I said to myself that it must be a frame-up. I believed that the Peking regime constituted a privileged, bureaucratic caste, but the charges against the "gang of four" went beyond anything I had heard before. But then came the publication of Chiang Ch'ing's memoirs in *Time* magazine, which confirmed every single accusation. She met with the author Roxane Witke in a private mansion in Canton; she had Greta Garbo films flown in; she had a staff of ladies-in-waiting, all dressed in matching silk gowns and Western skirts purchased in stores that ordinary Chinese citizens have no access to.

#### Bureaucratic Privilege

Jack Smith raises the question, how is this possible? I say that it is possible only on one condition: on the condition that it is *generalized*, that these are the common practices of the leadership of the Chinese Communist party. The repression that the regime describes is the means by which the masses are prevented from changing the situation.

So the charges by the new government have been largely verified. But the new regime does not permit any open discussion or debate over its own conduct, over its own financial disclosures, over the right of the Chinese people to debate its current policy. I think this flows from the privileged, bureaucratic character of the current regime. I think that the crimes it attributes to top leaders of the government for the whole past period also apply to the present leaders of the Chinese government.

This situation can be changed in only one way. It can be changed when the masses of Chinese people take the reins of government into their own hands, not relying on any wing of the Chinese Communist party to do their thinking for them or to decide for them. The future of China lies in a mass, antibureaucratic revolution to replace the present privileged leadership caste of China—including all its wings—with a democratic, proletarian government based on Leninist internationalism.

#### William Hinton

My own position, in a nutshell, is that the "gang of four" developed into a reactionary group, that their exposure and arrest was necessary, and that it does not represent a rightist trend in China, but a solution of a very serious counterrevolutionary trend.

There is a big problem with the words "left" and "right," in the way they are used in China, in the way they are used here, and the way Jack Smith uses them. A lot of it seems to revolve



around the question of motive. It seems to me that what is crucial is not the motive, but the objective reality of a policy. An ultraleft policy is no more revolutionary than an ultraright policy. In fact, that is why in China today they are calling the "gang of four" rightists, and even ultrarightists. Because objectively, the results of their policies and positions are counterrevolutionary and reactionary.

I think of the experience I described in my book, *Fanshen*, when in north China during the civil war there was temporarily, an extreme equalitarian policy in land reform. Mao opposed it. He said all Marxists have opposed it, all great Marxists—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. It is a form of agrarian socialism; it is a form of utopianism; it is reactionary.

Now, Jack Smith called the "gang of four" the left wing of the party. I think that is wrong, because the core of revolutionary policy is the left policy. Over and over again in China, it was Mao who represented that policy. Distortions of that policy from the right or the left become not left policy at all, but some form of bourgeois policy.

Now, Jack Smith had asked in the *Guardian* article, and Les said today, that the same questions are raised about Mao's policies. Jack Smith said it's not proven that the "gang of four" had done more than perhaps carry Mao's policies to the left. But I think that the core of their position was not simply a distortion of Mao's policies, but a turning of Mao's policies upside down. For instance, the key question of any revolution, of any transformation, is the question of friends and enemies—who are our friends, and who are our enemies.

Mao said over and over again that 95 percent of the cadres are good and 95 percent of the people are good—even those who have made mistakes. Cure the disease and save the patient, and so on.

The "gang of four" earlier identified themselves with Lin Piao's idea of overthrowing all, suspecting all. Recently they even came up with the theory that 75 percent of those who joined the revolution before 1949 are capitalist-roaders or democratic revolutionaries turned into capitalist-roaders. The whole idea of the vast majority being good, or relatively good, and being allies that can be depended upon and united with was consistently opposed by them over and over again.

Now, on such things as the relation between politics and production, again the "gang of four" took Mao's theory and turned it more or less upside down. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's remark that it doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white as long as it can catch mice can certainly serve as a summary of the revisionist line. In other words, technique in command, and what's important is production.

I guess you could sum up Mao's position as being that the cat should be red and learn to catch mice. In other words, it must have revolutionary politics, but it must learn to handle production, to handle technique, to master engineering, and so on.

The "gang of four's" position could be summed up—mind you, they haven't said this, I'm making these slogans as a summary—as saying it doesn't matter if the cat can catch mice or not, as long as the cat is red. Or: a red cat is good at catching mice, by definition. That is not politics in command; that is a theory of politics is all.

I met a young fellow the other day who had a fourth slogan on this, which is quite cynical: it doesn't matter what color the cat is, as long as it has nine lives.

### Delusions of Grandeur

The last thing I wanted to go into is life-style. Life-style does reflect political stand, and it is true certainly of Chiang Ch'ing that she not only expanded her bourgeois right, but actually insisted on feudal right. In the last year or two—when she was in a position of power—for instance, when she visited Tachai [the model agricultural production brigade] she demanded quiet within fifteen li. Automobiles had to be pushed into the village. She would not allow blasting when she was asleep, and so on. In other words, she did have delusions of grandeur as an empress.

Les has said this is typical of the higher cadre in China. I don't think it's typical. It's a matter of great struggle, because there is no such thing as absolute equality under any society, short of

full communism. When you have a society moving from semicolonial, semifeudal class and caste through socialist transformation toward communism, you have a series of differences, privileges, different wage rates, and so on, which cannot simply be abolished. If you were to abolish them, it would mean the transfer of wealth from one sector of working people to another. It would mean leaping to absolute equality in a culture that's not ready for it, in a consciousness that's not ready for it. In other words, it has to be done step by step.

So there are levels of difference, levels of privilege in China. The crucial thing is, what is the direction of policy? Are the differences being narrowed? Is bourgeois right being restricted and abolished step by step.

Now, the big question, of course, is the one raised by Jack: How could these people rise so high, and how could they stay in power so long?

Here I have a problem with the characterization coming from China today that at least three of these people were old-time counterrevolutionaries (Wang Hung-wen [the youngest of the four] is called a new bourgeoisie) and that they somehow sneaked into the revolution many years ago and did basically bad things ever since.

What makes sense to me is that they did go through a process of development, and the other party members went through a process of getting to know them. They did at certain times perform a function and a service. Because of this, they won some position, some prestige, and positions of trust, and then abused the trust.

So I think they developed into a gang. I don't think they started out as a gang.

The question is, since they did degenerate in this way, did form a gang, which in the end did commit crimes—the basic crime of trying to seize power outside the regular channels of party and law—then what was Mao's relation to all this?

I think it's quite clear that certainly at the end Mao took concrete steps to block their coming to power. Teng Hsiao-p'ing was appointed acting premier when Chou En-lai fell ill. Later, when it came to a question of Teng being removed from office and someone else being appointed, Mao put forward Hua Kuo-feng. Again he blocked the four, blocked Chang Ch'un-ch'iao.

I feel that Mao, the Chinese party, and the people moved too little and too late in relation to this group. But it's very hard to prejudice.

Now there is going to be a strong tendency of a right resurgence. But the central task now is exposing this group. And I, for one, have confidence that the Chinese people, government, and party will move toward the cutting down and restricting of bourgeois right, the compression of privilege, and continuing revolution toward communism. Thank you.

*Question. I'd like to ask the speakers their opinion about the foreign policy of China. Have there been changes in this area since the death of Mao?*

*Jack Smith. The Guardian thinks that China is making an error in its foreign policy. Other errors have been made in the past that have been*



Poster portrays Chiang Ch'ing as an empress and Wang Hung-wen, Yao Wen-yuan, and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao as her evil courtiers.

corrected. We believe this one will ultimately be corrected.

The error stems, we think, from the notion that the Soviet Union represents the main danger to all peoples of the world today. We think this is incorrect.

Insofar as China is concerned, however, China's own territorial integrity and its national interests, we do believe that the Soviet Union constitutes the main danger to China. And in certain other areas it might constitute the main danger. But to posit the thesis that, overall, the principal contradiction today is basically the Soviet Union, and the main danger is the Soviet Union, is wrong, and we think this has led to some very concrete errors.

The principal error is to be found in southern Africa, first with Angola, which satisfied Soviet ambitions tremendously, because it discredited our Chinese friends considerably among various progressive African countries that had heretofore been greatly influenced by China. Now it appears it may be occurring again in Zaïre.

Our own position is that in southern Africa the principal contradiction is between the various peoples seeking liberation and U.S. imperialism and its South African lackeys.

At the same time, China is correct to point to the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist country. We think it is incorrect to apply social imperialism across the board and not to see that there is a dialectic operative, and also not to see that U.S. imperialism is the main danger to all the peoples in the world.

*Les Evans.* I believe there are no significant changes in Chinese foreign policy as a result of the purge of the "gang of four." It's one area where both factions of the bureaucracy seem to have general agreement.

They have a common conception that it is possible to build a modern, industrialized state, either by human power or by technological power, within the borders of a single, isolated, underdeveloped country. I believe that perspective—"socialism in one country"—is false. I think the prospect of a federation of socialist states and of a promotion of revolutions in the industrially advanced countries is the only hope of development for any of the workers states.

The Peking leadership, on the other hand, stakes everything not on the prospect of the extension of the revolution, but on the prospect of technical aid from Japan, West Germany, and the United States. To get that, they support NATO, they support the rearmament of Japan, and they elevate the Soviet Union to the main danger, even though the Soviet Union has the same basic economic relations as China—whatever we may think of its government.

*William Hinton.* I think that China's foreign policy has been quite clear and that the three-world analysis is the heart of it. The first is the world of the two superpowers. The second world includes the lesser capitalist powers. And the third world is the colonial, semicolonial, and liberated peoples. China has supported all struggles against superpower domination.

Since 1972 they have made a distinction between superpowers. I think it is quite clear that they think on a world scale the Soviet Union represents the main danger. But I don't think that means they think that in southern Africa the principal contradiction is with the Soviet Union.

Their policy toward the third world is called "Drive the wolf from the front door, but don't let the tiger in the back door." In this analogy the wolf is American imperialism and the tiger is Soviet social-imperialism. Their concern in regard to the African struggle is that African people stand up, liberate themselves from the American empire, but not fall into the clutches of another empire.

*Question.* [to *Les Evans*] Why do you think a new communist party is needed in China, and why do you believe that this is a realistic alternative to solving China's problems within the framework of the party that made the Chinese revolution of 1949?

*William Hinton.* I think your real question is how could these violations of rights, and these arrests and frame-ups happen? I think in the nature of the struggle there are people who are denied civil rights. There is a revolution and a class struggle, and certain classes are outside the ranks of the people. You have landlords and rich peasants, who are deposed. You have bourgeoisie, who were bought out. [Compensation was paid to Chinese capitalists in 1956 for their property.] Any one of these classes could be under suspension and not granted full civil rights, because they are considered to be class enemies.

Now, this leads to violations in the hands of unscrupulous people. Because, generally speaking, one must apply democracy to the people; but if one can make a case that someone is over that line and is a class enemy, then one could apply the dictatorship against them.

I think the extraordinary thing about China is how few people have been framed. If they have been framed, they generally haven't been killed. And if they are framed, they generally have been rehabilitated. What did Mao say? Kill none and arrest few.

*Les Evans.* I think the question of workers

democracy is at the very heart of the disputes between the different factions. The way these disputes are carried out reveals precisely the lack of any genuine workers democracy in China.

This point is very clear. A dispute breaks out among top leaders of the party over government policy. Some of the accusations against the "gang of four" involve crimes, but others do not; they involve alternative cultural policies and alternative economic strategies. These are questions that should be publicly debated in China.

But in place of that, you have the single, dominant line of whoever happens to control the party and press apparatus. And when that particular group is defeated, jailed, and ousted from the party, their line is replaced by a different line.

The Chinese Communist party claims to be Leninist. But if you look back at the history of the Bolshevik party under Lenin, you will see that debates took place over every policy, even crucial ones where the revolution could live or die. Political tendencies or factions were formed, position papers were presented and debated before the masses.

That does not happen in China. In my opinion, you do not have the participation of the Chinese working class, in any serious way, in the formulation of national policy. The Chinese Communist party does not permit the masses to be involved in making fundamental decisions. Until that party is replaced, it is impossible to even begin the construction of a genuine socialist society in China.

One final point. It is not, as William Hinton says, a question of having to be tough and hard because what's involved is a revolution and class struggle. I suggest reading Lenin's *State and Revolution* as a primer on this question. The fundamental tenet of Marxism is confidence in the masses, the belief that only when the masses are politicized, are involved in genuine debate—not just carrying out policies made on top—is the revolution secure. It is insecure when decisions are made in a group of six people, and two of them throw the other four into jail, and no one knows what the debate is all about.

*Jack Smith.* I think the previous speaker completely obfuscated and distorted reality. *Les Evans* says, "There is no freedom. There is no democracy. The masses have nothing to say." This is incredible slander in discussing 800 million people who, twenty-five or thirty years ago, had foot-binding, and were living under the worst of conditions, who, in a short period of a quarter-century, are eating.

There is considerable democracy in China. Perhaps not as much as those sitting here in the University of Chicago would like, but compared with the lot of the Chinese peasants, and the hundreds of millions who died over the years of starvation—it's hard to take.

There is considerable debate in China. What is this nonsense that decisions are made by but a handful? There is no country in this world where there is more debate about political issues than in China. The Chinese workers are studying. They study Marx, they study Engels, they study Mao. They don't study Trotsky, that's true. But is that necessarily the criterion for freedom or dictatorship?

China is united. The people are free. There are a handful of traitors who are in jail. This is, after all, the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this is no laughing matter.

*Question.* Is the policy of China toward the Chilean junta and the shah of Iran in the interest of the world revolution?

*William Hinton.* I don't think there was such a thing as giving support to the Chilean junta. What happened was that China did not break relations with the junta. They did recall the ambassador, they criticized what was happening, but they maintained a presence in Chile on the grounds that they could do more for the Chilean people that way than by breaking.

China generally maintains relations with all regimes in the world, regardless of their politics. There are certain regimes which they have never recognized, and they are the settler-regimes. They do not recognize the settler-regimes such as Israel, Rhodesia, or South Africa, or regimes that have been put into power by outside intervention—for instance, Bangladesh.



Mao and Nixon greet each other at 1972 Peking summit. New leaders are continuing Mao's proimperialist foreign policy.



*Les Evans.* The Chinese government, at the beginning of the Sino-Soviet split and in the early years of the Vietnam War, professed on paper a policy of international relations that sounded very close to that of orthodox Marxism, close to the policy of the Soviet Union under Lenin. That is, it openly pledged support to any anti-imperialist movement; it openly criticized all reactionary regimes; it publicly criticized interference with democratic rights.

In the early 1970s Peking made a sharp change in that policy. This was reflected in the Nixon visit to China, the opening to the West, the beginning of more diplomatic recognitions and trade relations with China.

Peking's policy today is to withhold public criticism of any regime with which the Chinese government is on good terms.

The early Soviet government under Lenin concluded trade agreements with all kinds of reactionary states. But at the same time it used its moral authority to politically educate the working class in those countries, and internationally. It would attack those governments publicly; it would publicly support opposition movements in its press; it would teach the world something about the character of those regimes, independent of its governmental relations.

China does not follow that policy. If you read the Chinese press you will find no criticism of the

Chilean junta. It does not report the existence of political prisoners in Iran; instead it reports that the Iranian government has pledged to defend Iranian "freedom" against Soviet "social-imperialism."

I think this is one of Peking's most disgraceful policies: the adaptation to reactionary regimes in the hope of trade and governmental benefits.

[Jack Smith's response on this question repeated points previously made by himself and by William Hinton.]

# TECHQUA IKACHI

LAND AND LIFE—THE TRADITIONAL VIEWPOINT FROM THE HOPI NATION

Masthead of newsletter published by Hopi Traditionalists

## 'We Hopi Look at Ourselves'

*Land and Life: The Traditional Viewpoint from the Hopi Nation. Represents the viewpoints of the village leaders of Hotevilla in the Hopi Independent Nation. No regular subscription rate; see end of review for address.*

*Techqua Ikachi: Land and Life—The Traditional Viewpoint from the Hopi Nation* is a voice of the Native American self-determination struggle. It is a newsletter published bimonthly from Hotevilla, Arizona, since August 1975. News, history, customs, and legends of the Hopi people are the subjects of this publication, which insists on Hopi right to determine the ways of Hopi land and life.

For the last seventy years the Hopi people—whose name is generally translated as meaning "peaceful ones"—have been divided into two factions, the "Traditionals" and the "Progressives." In 1906 the dissident Traditionals left the oldest Hopi village of Oraibi in reaction to encroachments by the U.S. government. They started Hotevilla, the village that has come to represent resistance to forced acculturation. The Progressives, who stayed in Oraibi, have welcomed U.S. government intervention.

In his book *The Death of the Great Spirit*, Earl Shorris wrote that "the Indians were to become wards of the Federal Government, in much the same way that inmates of Federal prisons are wards." This is just what the Traditional Hopi are struggling to avoid. It was literally true, however, for Yukiama, original leader of Traditional Hopi dissidents, who was imprisoned without trial nine times because he refused to capitulate to government demands. His story is told in *Techqua Ikachi*.

late to government demands. His story is told in *Techqua Ikachi*.

Yukiama's son, Dan Katchongva, also tells how other men and boys were imprisoned for the year after Hotevilla's founding, in what the Traditionals recall as a "fierce and overpowering period of forced assimilation . . . amounting to a police state." Hopi traditionally had no written laws, police, courts, or jails.

During the 1930s the Progressive faction was in essence recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs when it set up the so-called Hopi Tribal Council, a government-defined structure, with authority enforced by police. *Techqua Ikachi* tells how this council was foisted on the Hopi people.

Today Progressive Hopi welcome the conveniences of running water, electricity, and government-built housing along paved streets. They support leases of Hopi land to coal and oil companies.

Traditionals acknowledge that such comforts and easily gained cash may sound fine, but point out that their true costs are not made clear. Traditional Hopi choose to continue to follow ancient Hopi ways rather than to pay these costs. But their land is valuable and Hopi resistance to government and corporation incursion is a recognized symbol inspiring many native people.

One outside group that is strongly resented by Hopi Traditionals is the Mormon church, which is suspected of trying to take over Hopiland. Traditionals write: "It has been our experience throughout recent history that Bahanna (white man) missionaries are always at the root of our problems." The Hopi Tribal Council lawyer since 1951, John Boyden, is a bishop in the Mormon church, and his son just joined the staff of tribal council

lawyers. The brother of the Hopi Tribal Council chairperson is the head of the Oraibi branch of the Mormon church. In 1975 the Mormon church requested land between Oraibi and Hotevilla for a church, outraging Traditional Hopi who wasted no time denouncing this proposed "indoctrination facility."

The other main threat to Hopiland is the energy-greedy complex of American industry and government. Black Mesa is an area that is sacred to Hopi as well as to Navajo. It is now desecrated as the largest strip mine in the world. The two tribal councils signed thirty-five-year leases of Black Mesa to Peabody Coal Company, a subsidiary of Kennecott Copper. They were asked to do so only after the Department of the Interior had already approved the leases without even consulting the tribes. Land, air, and water all suffer in the wake of corporate developments, as do native people who are relatively well paid for the unhealthy work involved in stripping the earth, while it lasts.

The latest energy source being sought under Hopiland is uranium, known by Hopi for thousands of years to be a potential cause of death and destruction. Recently the Navajo Tribal Council accepted \$6 million from Exxon for rights to mine uranium, a deal approved by Secretary of the Interior Thomas Kleppe. Traditional Hopi will not consider such transactions.

Interspersed in *Techqua Ikachi* among announcements of current struggles are descriptions of the Hopi ceremonial life cycle as it has persisted over centuries, giving a hint of the richness of Hopi culture and the strong Hopi sense of humor.

An eloquent statement of the Traditional Hopi position was

made last September by Hotevilla elder David Monongye at the seventieth anniversary of Hotevilla's founding:

"We want the people of this country to know the truth of our situation. This land which you people call the Land of Freedom has just celebrated its 200th anniversary. Yet in 200 years the original Americans have not seen a free day. We are now suffering the final insult. Our people are now losing the one thing which gives life and meaning to life: our land, which is being taken away from us.

"I ask you this:

"Where is the freedom which you all fight for and sacrifice your children for? Is it only the Indian people who have lost or are all Americans losing the very thing which you originally came here to find?

"Listen to us:

"We have no freedom of religion because others come to our homes and tell us that our religion is no good; that we should take theirs instead.

"We don't share the freedom of the press because what gets into the papers is what the government wants people to believe, not what is really happening.

"We have no freedom of speech, because we are persecuted by our own people for speaking our beliefs.

"We have no powerful army, so it is only with the help of friends on this continent and throughout the world that we can be heard by those able to stop this attempt to replace our original leaders and to cut us away from the land."

*Techqua Ikachi* announces each issue that questions and comments are welcome, and that it continues to be distributed freely because of contributions it receives. Its address is Box 174, Hotevilla, Arizona, 86030.

—Ronilyn McDonald

# ...Pornography

Continued from page ISR/5

this myth is the belief that women belong in the bedroom and the kitchen—even if they hold down a full-time job on the side.

This in turn means that the rulers must uphold the puritanical values and sexist double standard that "keep women in their place." These values, of course, also warp and twist sexuality and starve emotional needs. They produce a need for outlets, including distorted and degrading outlets such as pornography.

These conditions create the market for porno entrepreneurs such as Flynt and Goldstein.

Socialism's answer to this symptom cannot be and will not be to dispatch censorship squads to

close down pornographic bookstores and movie houses.

The solution is not—as in the Soviet Union today—to let government bureaucrats ban and censor literature before it can be published and distributed. That is a Stalinist, not a socialist, conception.

Instead, socialism aims to liberate humanity by replacing the exploitative capitalist system with a truly free and egalitarian society based on human cooperation and the fullest development of each person.

By establishing full equality for women in all areas of life and work, socialism will not only knock down a main pillar of pornography, but of sexist stereotypes and degradation of women in all literature, film, and other forms of cultural expression.

A socialist society will lift the burden of housekeeping off women, establishing community laundries, kitchens, and cleaning services. This will free women to develop their full human potential and undercut the view of them as mindless sex objects.

A socialist society will abolish all restrictions on the availability of contraception, on abortion rights, and on access to knowledge and information about human sexuality. It will abolish all laws infringing on the rights of homosexuals and regulating what is and what is not acceptable sexual activity between consenting human beings.

Over time, these changed social relationships will eradicate the sexual and emotional misery that is the major cause of pornography.

## LETTERS

**Editors:** I would like to comment on Evelyn Reed's article entitled "Lionel Tiger's 'Men in Groups': Portrait of a Woman-Hater," which appeared in the March *ISR*. Although Tiger's views are clearly worthy of condemnation, and Reed's article does a generally excellent job of explaining the social bias which is at the root of his theory, there is nevertheless one aspect of her argument which detracts from its overall impact.

It is unfortunate, in my opinion, that Reed, in answering Tiger, finds it necessary to counterpose her own personal thesis of female superiority in social functioning and cooperative behavior, which she develops at length in her book *Woman's Evolution*. The problem is that a reader who may find it difficult to accept Reed's views on this matter might, in turn, be confused about the validity of other arguments raised in the article.

Reed's belief that females in the animal kingdom possess a natural tendency for cooperation, and that males possess a contrary tendency for violence and selfishness, is central to her theory of human origins, and to her explanation of the development of a universal prehistoric period of matriarchal social organization. Statements about this, therefore, have a clear place in her book, and can be debated as part of an overall assessment of her general theory. But these ideas have no such central place in her polemic with Tiger. Tiger's views can be shown to be pseudoscientific and male chauvinist on their own merits. Reed's article would be stronger if she simply took that straightforward approach.

To illustrate the point, let us consider a parallel example: How constructive would it be, in attempting to disprove the racist theories of natural white intellectual superiority—presented by Shockley, Jensen, et. al.—to assert that, in fact, Blacks are intellectually superior? Even if one believed that there was evidence for such a claim, this approach would tend to contribute to the confusion around the issue, rather than to clarify.

The problem is not purely abstract, since anyone familiar with the

field of animal behavior would have some difficulty with Reed's assertions on the subject. In fact, there is as little hard scientific evidence to support Reed's theory of female biological superiority in possessing some "natural trait of cooperation" lacking in males, as there is for Tiger's theory of male superiority. Indeed, cooperation between members of the same species is exhibited in nature by both males and females, as is its opposite—violent and individualistic behavior. Stephen Bloom  
Brooklyn, New York

**Evelyn Reed replies:**

Although Stephen Bloom approves my "generally excellent job" of exposing Tiger's bias against women, he condemns the very means by which I was able to do this. I counterposed the authentic facts about the female sex to Tiger's shoddy distortions of biology and anthropology. Simply to lambaste him as a male chauvinist would have reduced the issues involved to a pimple on his nose.

There exist some rudiments of human cooperation involving both sexes, but they are not to be found in Tiger's imaginary animal world. In a few species and sometimes in the nonsexual season the male animal can cooperate with the female. But this does not alter the general rule of male intolerance of other males. This antagonistic behavior is most pronounced in the mating season when they fight for access to females. Contrary to Tiger, "bonding" is not embedded in the "biological infrastructure" of male animals.

The rudiments of cooperation are to be found in the maternal brood of females and offspring and in the extension of these ties to other females and young. This made the females preadapted to the cooperation that was essential for the labor activities that distinguish humans from animals. Thus in the first division of labor between the sexes we find men who have learned how to cooperate with other men as well as with women.

**Editors:** I was very impressed with Evelyn Reed's review of Lionel Tiger's *Men in Groups*, "Portrait of a Woman-Hater." It well demonstrates the poverty of his philosophy, one that I am sure he cannot believe in himself. As she points out, his theory is so full of outright lies that I

seriously doubt that "woman hating" will have any more impact than "socialist hating" portrayed by Solzhenitsyn. The history of the women's movement is so full of cooperation and bonding among women that his lies speak louder than his words. I have spent thirty-four years of my life working with women and I could point out and could give examples of solidarity among women that would make Tiger's hair stand right up.

Fanny Curran  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

**Editors:** Congratulations to Evelyn Reed on her excellent article in the March *ISR*. It's especially disgusting when one uses science as a "mask" in order to (attempt to) validate their depraved prejudices.

In the beginning of the article, I was under the impression that Tiger's only folly was that of being a virulent misogynist, but of course I read and found out about his "cherished" racism as well. This is a very sick man that Ms. Reed has so excellently (and humorously) exposed. Not only is he "hung up" with his bourgeois values of sexism and racism, but he goes so far as to glorify forms of social depravity such as war and the Klan!

Craig McKissic  
Silver Spring, Maryland

**Editors:** As little is known in the United States about the current wave of repression here in West Germany, we, a group of U.S. students at a West German university, would like to describe a few aspects of this growing danger of our American friends.

As during the McCarthy era in the United States, the ruling class in West Germany has unleashed a wave of persecution against those (relatively few) West Germans who have taken a stand for social change and critical judgment. Under the pretext of removing "extremists," also branded "enemies of the Constitution," from all positions of public influence, socialists, communists, and other democrats (including many Social Democrats and liberals) must face the risk of losing their jobs for their political convictions. We have witnessed the resulting climate of fear, intimidation, and self-censorship at West German universities.

The current wave of repression has considerably affected West German unions, which, according to

their official policy, routinely expel activist members. Mass media coverage has become noticeably less critical, not to mention the cases of voluntary withdrawal of politically "questionable" books by major publishers for fear of possible lawsuits.

However, the main brunt is borne by civil servants, who comprise 20 percent of the West German work force. In the wake of a 1972 federal policy decision concerning "radicals" in the civil service, more than 800,000 applicants for civil-service jobs, including prospective teachers, have been investigated by so-called Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (Verfassungsschutzämter), which have managed to gather 2.5 million dossiers on West German citizens. There have been more than 10,000 hours of hearings of applicants concerning their allegiance to the Constitution. More than 2,000 applicants have been denied positions, which means that, in light of the state's monopoly in many professions, they are robbed for the rest of their lives of the opportunity to exercise the professions for which they were trained. (These statistics are taken from a broadcast of the state-owned West German television on February 14, 1977.)

These cases are known as *Berufsverbote* (which can roughly be translated as blacklisting), a term which, due to its ominous significance in present day West Germany, has entered untranslated into most European languages. They represent only the tip of an iceberg of politically motivated delays in appointments, fears of arousing suspicion by making use of one's constitutionally guaranteed civil rights (for example, by signing a petition, by participating in a demonstration, or by joining a pacifist organization, actions which have been cited in justifying *Berufsverbote*) and anxieties about one's future.

We urge you to gather more information about West German repression and to attempt to spread it among fellow members of the left and, if possible, to the mass media in the United States. This could help support the initiative for a Russell Tribunal on repression in West Germany, which has been advanced by various West German political organizations, among them the GIM (Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten), the West German branch of the Fourth International.

J.D., S.F.W., B.F., D.F.W., and P.W.  
Göttingen, West Germany





Continued from page 10

This was the same week the story broke that the queen owns £100 million worth of shares in British companies. She is not required to make her holdings public. Among the concerns in which she is believed to be a large holder is Rio Tinto Zinc, which makes its money from mines in South Africa and Zambia.

Skip Ball  
London, England

### Slaughter in Ethiopia

I read with dismay Ernest Harsch's article "Ethiopian junta shuts down some U.S. bases" (May 20 *Militant*). I was particularly disturbed by the unprincipled reporting on the relationship between the fascist junta and U.S. imperialists. Not even once did Harsch mention the genocidal brutalities committed by the reactionary military junta with U.S. military assistance. Should we not devote some paragraphs to what U.S. military aid has done to Ethiopians?

As a longtime supporter of the *Militant* and its principles, I request that the editor make public the official position of the paper regarding the Ethiopian military fascists.

Gissela  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

[Editor's note—Harsch is now preparing another article on the recent massacres of students in Ethiopia.]

### Battered wife

Gloria Timmons is a twenty-four-year-old Black woman who is serving an indefinite sentence in Washington State's prison for women.

Timmons was a severely battered wife. She was hospitalized twice after beatings by her husband. On January 31, 1973, as he approached her in a bar with a screwdriver in his hand, she shot and killed him with a .22 pistol.

She said she meant only to stop him, not kill him. Her pistol was loaded with only one bullet.

Although she obviously acted in self-defense, she was charged with first-degree murder. Promised "immediate parole" by the district attorney for pleading guilty to a lesser charge, Gloria Timmons instead got a twenty-year-maximum sentence.

The parole board will set a minimum sentence in June.

We urge people to write to Gov. Dixy Lee Ray at the State Capitol, Olympia, Washington 98501, and to the Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Parole at the Capital Center Building, Olympia, Washington 98501, demanding that Gloria be freed now.

Letters of support can be sent to Gloria Timmons c/o Teresa Williams, 1010 N.W. Sixty-seventh Street, Seattle, Washington 98117.

Gerald Deines  
Teresa Williams  
Seattle, Washington

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## NLRB Blues

Thirty million votes have been cast by workers, for and against unions, in National Labor Relations Board elections since the Wagner Act was passed forty-two years ago. That was cause for celebration at a dinner party last March in Washington, attended by big people in labor, management, and government.

The question that now arises is how much good did all those votes do for the workers and the answer is not much.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, was one of the speakers at the dinner party, but he had to admit that as far as unions are concerned there isn't much to celebrate in the history of the NLRB.

He allowed that 30 million is a lot of ballots and 300,000 is a lot of elections. But he noted that the number of elections is about twice the number of labor-management contracts now held by AFL-CIO unions.

"Aren't those very figures evidence that something is amiss?" Meany pressed further, "Isn't this evidence that victories won in elections are often destroyed without honest collective bargaining ever having taken place? Can anyone who truly believes in collective bargaining take solace from this kind of record?"

This, of course, is Meany's pitch for revision of the labor law, reforms that will force employers to sign a "bare bones" contract and begin union dues checkoff when a majority of workers votes union. He wants the Carter administration to support such legislation and thinks the union-supported Democratic Congress ought to enact it.

This is an unlikely prospect because present labor law, beginning with the National Labor Relations Act in 1935 (Wagner) and twice amended (Taft-Hartley in 1947 and Landrum-Griffin in 1959), was enacted by large majorities in past Congresses with the support of both Democrats and Republicans. They never intended that the labor law should aid the unions, or in any way help workers to organize.

The stated purpose of the law, from the beginning, was to encourage "the practice and procedure of collective bargaining." And that is the purpose it has served, always in the interest of the employers. It has been an effective means of forestalling and preventing strikes.

The cumbersome NLRB process of gaining union

recognition can require more than three years, during which time the in-plant organizing committee is fired and others are discouraged (and often disgusted) with the union.

When Meany asks who can take solace from the record of the NLRB the answer is the antiunion employers.

Some think there are "good" employers and that only "rogue employers" use the NLRB to prevent organization. Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, has three categories of employers: good, intermediate "grudgers," and rogues. The difference is that the "good" ones (in auto, rubber, steel, construction, and other basic industries) got caught in past strike waves and have been forced to accept collective bargaining. The others use the NLRB with varying degrees of determination and success to dodge strikes.

The "good" employer never existed. The trouble with the Biemiller theory is that his "good guys" have union contracts in one area and fight unions in other places. They use armed guards, blacklists, firings, threats of plant closing, and promises of promotion among other antiunion tricks.

A 1976 congressional report on NLRB effectiveness—or ineffectiveness—says, "The Labor Act seems no deterrent to the planning that precedes the anti-union campaign. Indeed, the Great Lakes Steel Corporation recently scoffed at the Act in a memorandum sent to all supervisors."

The report quoted from the company memorandum. "The illegal acts we have been referring to are unfair labor practices," it says. "They are not crimes. No individual is punished for committing them. . . . We must stay within the law, but do not be afraid to speak out. You stand the most to lose from the organization of your department."

There is nothing wrong with protesting the shortcomings of the NLRB and the uses made of it by the employers, but not in the way of Meany and Biemiller. Protests are useful to the great mass of unorganized workers only as they serve to scandalize the brutal employers and expose the complicity of their government agents, and in this way help prepare for strike action. Mass action by the workers—not "favorable" legislation—wins union recognition and imposes collective bargaining.

## Women in Revolt

### Willie Mae Reid



## The 'last plantation'

The following is a guest column by Ginny Hildebrand.

Last spring Elizabeth Ray lifted the covers on the "people's representatives."

She exposed the hallowed halls of Congress as a glamorized Times Square. Some congressmen often shed their statesmen's robes to slip into something more comfortable—and the roles of johns and pimps, coercing many female employees into what amounted to a prostitution ring.

This spring the case of Shirley Davis hit the papers, alerting us to another disgusting side of sexism on Capitol Hill.

In 1974 the fifty-one-year-old Davis left her Monroe, Louisiana, home to work for Rep. Otto Passman (D-La.). Within five months Passman fired her. His reason: he preferred a man for the job.

Davis decided to take her sexist boss to court. After all, such flagrant discrimination is illegal, isn't it?

No, said Passman, who claimed congressional immunity. Believe it or not, he's formally right. Congress carefully exempted itself when writing Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Equal Pay Act, and others.

During the same year of Davis's run-in with Congress's double standard, discrimination was found in at least twenty congressional offices.

In response to this widespread discrimination, ten national women's, Black, and civil liberties organizations have urged the Senate Government Affairs Committee to come up with "strong and fair" proce-

dures to enforce the Senate's new ethics code, which bars discrimination.

In the House, Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) has made feeble progress in setting up a voluntary committee to arbitrate sex discrimination complaints. One congressman's response was, "No one's gonna mess around with my slaves." No wonder women and Black employees call Capitol Hill the "last plantation."

Meanwhile, Shirley Davis continues to push her suit. After one judge dismissed the case, the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals remanded it for trial.

This shook up the ole boys in Congress, and got the Carter administration into the act.

Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill (D-Mass.) and Minority Leader John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) dashed off a letter to Attorney General Griffin Bell urging him to intervene.

Bell and his boss, Carter, could see the writing on the wall: a favorable ruling for Davis would release a torrent of sex discrimination suits. So Bell filed a friend-of-the-court brief backing up Passman.

What's happened to Carter's sermons on "human rights" and campaign pledge "to set a style of leadership that clearly and unmistakably makes equal rights and equal opportunity national goals?"

Since his move to the white-columned mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue, Carter's active opposition to Medicaid-funded abortions, inactive "support" for the Equal Rights Amendment, and now this should tell women at least one thing: If lies could rot teeth, Carter would have a toothless grin.



# NIXON ON TV

By Syd Stapleton

For a capitalist politician, Richard Nixon is not good with his mouth. He blurts out things that others only hint at. His performance on David Frost's multi-million-dollar TV extravaganza was an eye-opener.

In the course of the interview televised May 19, Nixon had to explain

Syd Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund

why he approved the notorious "Huston plan" for intensifying burglaries, wiretaps, and other crimes against Black activists and opponents of the Vietnam War. "...when the president does it, that means it is not illegal," said Tricky Dick.

Maybe since Nixon doesn't face the risk of going to jail—thanks to Gerald Ford's blanket pardon—he's a little more bold than other ex-politicians.

While denying that he authorized the fire bombing of a liberal think tank in Washington, Nixon acknowledged that he "would have taken very strong methods," had he thought "national security" was involved.

What about murder? "There are degrees, there are nuances, which are difficult to explain," Nixon told the TV audience. Especially difficult to explain when the world now knows that murder *has* been viewed by the government as an acceptable instrument of U.S. policy.

Defending government harassment of the antiwar movement, Nixon claimed that opposition to the Vietnam War had to be stifled for the good of the country.

"I had to make a choice . . . are we going to allow our potential enemies, those that we were negotiating with in Paris, gain the impression that they [antiwar protesters] represent a majority." Later in the interview Nixon explained that he thought he had to show the Vietnamese that he was not affected by the protests.

In fact, shortly after the massive November 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington, D.C., the White House even put out the story that Nixon had spent the day watching football. But, as Nixon admitted to Frost, the marches had a big impact:

"Oh, I could hear. I could hear even if I had plugs in my ears. It was that loud at times, with people marchin' around."

"Nobody can know," Nixon said, "what it means for a president to be sitting in the White House working late at night, as I often did, and to have hundreds of thousands of demonstrators around, charging through the streets."

Talking about withdrawal from Vietnam, Nixon said, "It would have been enormously popular in America." And a little later he admitted, "It's probably a majority of our viewers who

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## 'Leftists' lose in Berkeley race

By Harry Ring and Ann Chase

This is the first of two articles discussing the municipal election held in Berkeley April 19.

BERKELEY, Calif.—Berkeley Citizens Action, a left Democratic party formation, failed in its bid to win control of the Berkeley City Council. The BCA slate was defeated in the April 19 election by a rival wing of the Democratic party.

Running as an independent, Mark Allen, a member of the Communist party, trailed behind the losing BCA slate, which he had supported.

Also defeated in a voter referendum was a BCA-sponsored rent control proposal and another to establish regulations for tenant-landlord bargaining. A BCA-supported proposal to continue using traffic diverter barriers in the city was approved by the voters.

The BCA went into the elections with two members on the city council. If its slate had been elected it would have won a long-sought majority on the council.

Defeat of the BCA was generally seen as a substantial setback for the formation, an outgrowth of the earlier, more widely publicized April Coalition.

Some also saw the returns as a setback for Mark Allen and the Communist party. Such an appraisal, however, would stem from an overestimation of what his prospects for election actually were. Viewed realistically, the odds were against Allen being elected. And while he failed to win a council seat, his party undoubtedly gained some new support and perhaps inched a bit closer to its goal of building an alliance with liberal Democrats.

The Berkeley Democratic Club, the more traditional wing of the party, nominated and elected a full slate of four for the council. Berkeley's Black mayor, Warren Widner, is member of the BDC.

### Partial ticket

Beset with internal difficulties involving the efforts to place Mark Allen on its slate, the BCA nominated only three candidates for the contest. Allen, failing to win BCA nomination, ran as an independent.

Leading the defeated BCA slate was Ying Lee Kelley, an incumbent member of the council. She polled 15,451 votes, only 329 less than the lowest vote-getter on the BDC slate. The lowest BCA vote was 13,539 for Veronica Fukson.

Mark Allen followed her in eighth place with 9,139 votes.

Votes for other nonslate candidates ranged from 3,494 down to 325.

Julie Simon of the Socialist Workers party finished fifteenth in a field of twenty with 894 votes.

In the school board election, two conservative Democrats were elected, with BCA-endorsed office-seekers running third and fourth. SWP candidate David Warren was last in a field of eight with 2,125 votes.

### Students stay home

Since the eighteen-year-old vote, the big University of California campus has been a force in Berkeley politics. The UC campus was largely responsible for the initial successes of the April Coalition, predecessor to the BCA.

But in this election the turnout in the mainly student precincts was estimated at less than 40 percent.

The *People's World*, West Coast voice of the Communist party, opined April 23 that the BCA failed because it had been unable to "generate enough excitement . . . in the areas where it matters most."

This was the case, although the *People's World*, which supported the BCA, ventured no opinion as to why it was.

The simple fact is that the BCA just didn't have the appeal that it used to for students, and others, looking for a positive alternative.

Back in 1971, the new April Coalition did arouse considerable enthusiasm at the Berkeley campus.

Now members of the coalition have sat on the city council for six years. And it is all too apparent that nothing has really changed—except perhaps the elected coalition members look more and more like the old-line politicians they were supposed to supplant.

Breaking with previous tradition, the BCA did not include a student on its slate. Coalition leaders had decided a student was "unelectable."

Furthermore, student enthusiasm was not fired by the issues in the race.

The BCA focused on passage of the rent control and tenant bargaining propositions, along with the issue of continuing to limit city auto traffic by means of traffic diverters.

The opposing BDC slate campaigned against rent control. Backed by sub-

appropriate rhetoric.

The Communist party allocated significant forces to his campaign. Members from around the state came in to help. Angela Davis, the CP's most influential figure, spoke for Allen several times and joined in door-to-door canvassing.

Allen's endorsements included a broad range of individuals such as Harry Edwards, the Black UC professor fighting for tenure, and the noted Black attorney Howard Moore.

Several union bodies gave their endorsement, including American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; Service Employees International Union Local 390; and the joint legislative council of the longshore union.

Endorsements also came from such political formations as the New American Movement and the paper *Grass Roots*, which sees itself as the voice of the "nonmachine" elements in the BCA.

Two days before elections, Black Democratic Rep. Ronald Dellums released a statement saying he intended to vote for Allen. While his carefully



Joyful supporters celebrate victory of April Coalition in 1971. Failure of coalition to give any meaningful answer to the city's problems has dampened this enthusiasm.

stantial real estate money, it appealed to the many small dweller-landlords in the city.

The BCA could not generate an effective response, partly because the rent control measure was rather toothless.

The voters had previously enacted such a proposition, but it was struck down by the courts. The just-defeated substitute was tailored to meet court objections, which meant it couldn't do much to protect tenants.

The BCA produced only a minimum of campaign literature. The main emphasis was on the "practical" merit of the candidates, including their capacity to "attract business" to Berkeley.

### Simple apathy?

Some contend that the student abstention was the result of the present reduced level of campus activism.

But the fact is that Mark Allen, who succeeded in projecting a somewhat different image than the BCA, was able to evoke a discernibly more positive response on campus. Mistakenly seeing Allen as more radical than the BCA, a number of students did get involved in his campaign.

A staff writer for the *People's World*, Allen was, by Communist party standards, a not unattractive candidate. Black, under thirty, a Vietnam-era draft resister, he came on as a "community activist," complete with the

worded stand was a bit less than an endorsement, the Allen campaign publicized it effectively.

The total scope of the campaign, both in terms of resources and support, served to persuade a number of radical-minded activists that the Allen campaign was "practical" and "relevant." This even included some who generally regard themselves as contemptuous of the reformist politics of the CP.

Missing the real point to his campaign, some of these activists saw Allen as more radical than the BCA.

Other Allen supporters saw the issues and relationships more clearly.

### No mistaken identity

For example, Allen had the support of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the continuator of the Democratic party machine built by Tom Hayden when he contested for that party's senatorial nomination last year.

The leaders of the Hayden organization are totally committed to the Democratic party and hostile to the idea of taking people out of it. Their endorsement of Allen was a precise expression of their realization that his campaign was not a device for breaking people from the Democrats.

A further confirmation was the fact that one of the two cochairpeople of the Allen campaign was Maudelle Miller Shirek. She is a county central committee member of the Democratic party.

(To be continued)



## **'No coal without a UMWA contract'**

# **Striking miners face company violence in Ky.**

By Nancy Cole

STEARNS, Ky.—“We don't aim to mine no coal until a contract is signed, and nobody else is going to either.”

That statement by a picketing miner here sums up the resolve of more than 160 men on strike for ten months against the Stearns Mining Company's Justus mine.

Stearns and its parent company, the Blue Diamond Coal Company, will stop at nothing to keep the United Mine Workers of America out.

In March of this year, the company hired a private security firm— notorious for strikebreaking violence— and the shooting began. Since then it is a fact of life for Stearns residents. Every night, and sometimes during the day, there is steady gunfire.

Although there is a court order against it, nobody denies that the fire is sometimes returned. “If they were shooting at you, what would you do?” one striker asked me.

Despite provocations, the strike remains strong and the miners claim total unity of their ranks. For them the real life-and-death question is not dodging the bullets of hired gun thugs, but the even more deadly issue of mine safety.

The Stearns miners voted to be represented by the UMWA on March 31, 1976. That was just three weeks after two explosions at another Blue Diamond-owned mine—the Scotia mine in Oven Fork, Kentucky—killed twenty-six men.

As at Scotia, Stearns miners had a company union. Its president—Mahan Vanover, a miner for thirty-five years—is the first to admit that the benefits of the so-called labor union totaled “none.”

“We got a turkey at Christmas, and that came out of union funds,” adds striker Leonard Gibson.

The UMWA is now “recognized” at Stearns because the National Labor Relations Board certified the election. But the company refuses to negotiate an acceptable contract.

The main issue for the striking miners is safety. They want a union safety committee with the authority to remove miners from areas judged “hazardous to human life.” Blue Diamond won't agree, and negotiations broke off in January of this year.

Since then, the company has taken other steps to break the strike.

The most serious provocation was



United Mine Workers headquarters, near picket line in Stearns, Kentucky, is fired on nightly by company thugs

the hiring of armed guards in March. Even the sheriff admits he “didn't have any trouble with violence prior to the arrival of the security guards.”

Thirty-one men—twenty-seven of them strikers—now face charges of kidnapping, first-degree assault, and first-degree robbery. This stems from an incident in which two of the armed thugs, who inexplicably turned up at a striker's house, were shot. The thirty-one will be arraigned in court May 27.

In a separate case, twenty-five strikers are charged with violating the court order limiting pickets and allowing company officials to enter the mine.

The court's concern with meting out equal justice is aptly illustrated with one example. The day after McCreary County Circuit Court Judge J.B. Johnson announced his order—which also included a ban on firearms—the sheriff set up a roadblock at the mine entrance.

He found no guns on the strikers, but two cars driven by security guards had plenty of arms and ammunition. So the sheriff delivered them to the judge, who ordered them released without any charge.

Then the guards enlisted the aid of the state police to escort them back to the mine. The cops used the opportunity to arrest two strikers for supposedly violating the limit on pickets. The two were immediately jailed.

The UMWA charges that Blue Diamond is instigating violence with its armed guards. A court hearing on these charges scheduled for May 20 was postponed at the company's request.

Wives, mothers, and friends of the striking miners have formed the Stearns Women's Club. The women picketed the courthouse in Whitley City three times, protesting legal harassment of the strikers. On April 1, they organized a demonstration of 150 in Knoxville, Tennessee, headquarters of Blue Diamond.

The biggest “morale booster”—as UMWA press aide Ben Elliott called it—was the May 5 rally of 300 at the county 4-H camp. In addition to some well-known folk musicians, speakers included the executive secretary of Kentucky State AFL-CIO, president of the Knoxville, Tennessee, Labor Council, and a business agent for Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

Stearns miners aren't intimidated by the ballyhoo around President Carter's energy crisis. To those who say the miners should be digging valuable coal, rather than demanding job safety, Leonard Gibson answers, “Tell them to go mine it!”

Mahan Vanover thinks that if Carter would visit the mines, “he wouldn't approve of the conditions we work under.”

“President Carter got a lot of support from working-class people,” Vanover adds. “He ought to stand behind us better than he has.”

Some time back in the strike, the miners leased a plot of land by the mine entrance. Now they've bought it. It means they can have their weekly strike meetings, when each picketer gets his \$100 in strike benefits, right at the scene of Blue Diamond's crimes.

There's a glorified shack—riddled with bullet holes—that serves as UMWA headquarters near the picket line. When they have a contract and a union local number, they plan to build more substantial offices on the same spot.

(Next week: Stearns Women's Club)

## **Coors beer strike: the issue is union busting**

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—Several hundred brewery workers at the Coors beer plant in nearby Golden have been on strike since April 5.

The Coors empire is on a drive to bust the union. The contract of Brewery Workers Local 366 expired December 31. After the strike was called, Coors stiffened its stand, adding a demand for an open shop to its bargaining position.

The major issue in the strike is the degrading employment practices of the company. At present, Coors forces all applicants to undergo a lie detector test. Questions asked include:

“Are you a homosexual?”

“Have you committed crimes you were never convicted of?”

“Do you smoke pot?”

“How often do you change your underwear?”

The Coors family is a strong believer in unrestrained domination over its employees, which it refers to as “free enterprise” and “the American Way.”

William Coors, president of the company, made headlines when he referred to union pickets as “monkeys” at a stockholders' meeting.

Coors has poured millions of dollars into right-wing causes, and has been a target of protests by Chicanos, Blacks, and feminists for its discriminatory hiring policies.

The company has a long history of union busting.

Adolph Coors, a Prussian immigrant, started the company brewery in 1872. Now the company is a huge financial empire. Even though the beer is mainly sold in thirteen states, it is the fifth-largest seller in the country. The Golden brewery is the world's largest.

Coors is the only manufacturer of chemical porcelain in the world, and makes sophisticated components for the aerospace industry.

Fed up with Coors's dictatorial policies, the majority of Local 366's 1,472 members originally voted to

strike. Most have since gone back to work.

Hatred of the company runs high, especially among those who have stayed out. At one union meeting, attended by about 400 militant strikers, someone who had just been fired from a nonunion department of the plant came to lend his support.

He referred to Coors as a “capitalist dictator,” adding that this was just his personal opinion. He was interrupted by dozens of workers shouting, “No! We feel that way too!”

A little later, a representative of the Colorado AFL-CIO announced that the union was going back into negotiations. There has to be “give-and-take on both sides,” he said. One worker took the floor to argue for a tough stance: “We've got nothing left to give.” There was a roar of applause.

Even though a strike had been in the wind for some time, the union leadership had not prepared much of a strike fund, and can only pay twenty-five dollars a week in strike benefits.

Previous contracts signed by the unions prohibit any bargaining unit in the plant from recognizing the picket lines of any other workers.

Shortly after the strike vote, the union leaders announced that they would not try to shut down the plant, although there is no legal restriction on mass picketing. Instead, a boycott of Coors beer was called. Union leaders said this was the “only way” to win the strike.

It was, therefore, not too surprising that within a few weeks about 900 union members went back into the plant, fearful that the union would not be able to protect their jobs if the strike was lost.

Coors hired about 400 more nonunion persons to replace strikers and now claims to be operating at full capacity.

The union leadership considers the members who went back in “scabs” and has made no attempt to win them back.

# Origins of African Liberation Day

By Omari Musa

On May 25, 1963, thirty-two African heads of state met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and signed the charter establishing the Organization of African Unity.

They declared the date African Liberation Day (ALD).

Nine years later, on May 27, 1972, the first international demonstrations were held in solidarity with the rise in the African liberation struggle.

Thousands came out in the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States. The largest demonstration was in Washington, D.C., where more than 25,000 rallied at the foot of the Washington Monument.

The 1972 call for African Liberation Day developed from discussions between Afro-American activists and leaders of national liberation groups in Africa.

Mark Smith, then director of operations for the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, described the thinking behind the action at the April 14, 1972, Militant Forum in Washington, D.C.:

"... Leaders of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) and other liberation organizations... [thought] it would be of tremendous support to them if Black people in this country could come together and provide political support for those movements."

Their initiative was fueled by the growing nationalist consciousness among Blacks and their identification with the struggle for national liberation in southern Africa.

The support for ALD mushroomed in the months before the demonstrations.

The 8,000 participants at the Gary, Indiana, National Black Political Convention in March of that year endorsed the protests. Black student groups organized picket lines against the importation of Rhodesian chrome. And in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the predominantly Black local of the International Longshoremen's Association refused to unload a cargo of Rhodesian chrome.

The initial organizers of ALD realized the necessity of involving as many Black organizations and individuals as possible. The breadth of the

coordinating committee to organize the demonstrations reflected this. The ALD Coordinating Committee included Black student organizations in the United States and Canada, and members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and Black nationalist groups.

Since 1972, tens of thousands have demonstrated against Portuguese and U.S. imperialism in Africa, although none of the actions reached the peak of the 1972 demonstrations.

African Liberation Day this year comes at a time of mounting struggles for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and South Africa. It comes after the Soweto rebellions and a year of protests against U.S. complicity with the racist regimes.

However, the enemies of Black majority rule in southern Africa are very active.

The white-minority regimes are directing a propaganda barrage at the American people to convince them that Black majority rule is a "communist plot."

Meanwhile, the Carter administration is pouring out pious rhetoric about supporting Black majority rule.

Carter has sent Vice-president Walter Mondale and United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young to meet with Ian Smith and John Vorster, the prime ministers of Rhodesia and South Africa. Mondale and Young have also met with African heads of state and African nationalist groups.

But behind this facade, the U.S. perspective remains the same—to impose neocolonial solutions in Namibia and Zimbabwe, to buy time for the racists in South Africa, and to defuse the growing solidarity movement in the United States.

African Liberation Day and the protests set for June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto rebellion, give those who support Black majority rule in southern Africa another opportunity to explain to the American people what is behind these maneuvers.

## Racist regime exiles Winnie Mandela

From Intercontinental Press

By Ernest Harsch

Winnie Mandela, a prominent Black opponent of the South African regime, was exiled by the racist Vorster government to a remote part of the country May 16. She is a leader of the Black Parents Association, which was formed during the mass protests against the regime last year, as well as of the Black Women's Federation. Her husband, African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, is currently serving a life sentence on Robben Island.



A squad of police arrived at her home in the Black township of Soweto at dawn on May 16 and loaded her furniture and possessions into a truck. She and one of her children were taken 200 miles away to a Black township near the small town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State. Brandfort is far from the major urban areas, which are the main centers of Black political activity.

Winnie Mandela was jailed for nineteen months in 1969-70 before being acquitted on charges of "subversive" activities. She was arrested again in August 1976 during the mass Black upsurge and held for four months. After being released, she was "banned" for five years, a form of house arrest that bars virtually all political activity. Although about 150 persons are under banning orders at present, it is relatively unusual for someone to be banished to a remote part of the country.

Winnie Mandela's new "home" consists of a three-room house with no electricity, no running water, and no stove.

An editorial in the May 19 *Rand Daily Mail* denounced the banishment, declaring, "The ugly thing done to Mrs. Mandela is devastating to her and to South Africa."



May 27, 1972, African Liberation Day rally in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Thabo Ntweng

## Iran, Latin America, S. Africa

# Ga. panel scores U.S. on human rights abroad

By Jeff Miller

ATLANTA—Corporations in the United States will equip the secret police of Iran with sophisticated computer systems, Iranian civil liberties activist Babak Zahraie said May 11 at an international human rights panel at Georgia State University.

"It is not surprising," said Zahraie. "The U.S. government put the shah in power by toppling a legally elected government and created the secret-police apparatus to maintain him in power. Now it equips the secret police with electronics and computers."

At the panel, entitled "Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy," spokespersons representing various international civil liberties organizations and committees spoke to an audience of 110 students on violations of human rights in the Soviet Union, South Africa, Latin America, and Iran.

Zahraie, a field organizer for the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), said there are about 100,000 political prisoners in Iran, and the number of officially announced executions is increasing at a rate four times greater than last year.

"The most fundamental and stable feature of Iranian society today is repression," said Zahraie.

On a recent CBS television interview, the shah flatly admitted that

SAVAK (Iranian secret police) operatives were active in the United States. He claimed the operatives had the approval of the CIA and other U.S. government agencies.

Other panelists, speaking on Latin America and the Soviet Union, said President Carter's new human rights policy was hypocritical.

The former director of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, Ralph Schoenman, received the loudest applause from the students when he noted that Carter's appointees to secretaries of state and defense, Cyrus Vance and Harold Brown, were the principal organizers of the massive saturation bombings of Vietnam.

"Carter and the American ruling class now seek to restore a patina of moral gloss to their predatory rule," Schoenman said. "While Carter embraces the shah of Iran, he taints the cause of human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

Also speaking was Maura Rodriguez, national coordinator of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Rodriguez noted that President Carter's "cuts" in military aid to Latin American governments have done nothing to reduce aid to repressive governments in many countries.

South African lawyer Thulani Gcabashe, who witnessed the June 16

student rebellion in Soweto, said that the South African government was "born illegitimate."

"When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, it was an inhuman act," he said. "Only whites were permitted to participate in forming a government."

The panel was interrupted once

during the meeting. Members of the Iranian Students Association, Ethiopian Student Union of North America, and Revolutionary Communist party shouted and chanted in an attempt to keep Babak Zahraie from speaking.

However, almost the entire audience waited patiently until the disrupters left, and the panel continued.

## 800 hit Iran repression

PORTLAND, Ore.—Ken Kesey, author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*; Gretchen Kafoury, Oregon state representative; and Dr. Reza Baraheni, noted Iranian poet and former political prisoner, addressed a meeting of more than 800 people on April 21 at Reed College here. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Its theme was "Repression in Iran."

Dr. Baraheni noted the shah of Iran's attempts to buy off American universities with large grants, in order to silence protests against repression in Iran.

Ali Shokri, a defector from the Iranian Air Force, appealed to the audience for support in his fight to

remain in this country. Shokri defected while stationed at a U.S. Air Force base in Texas.

A group of about twenty Iranians claiming to be members of the Iranian Student Union (ISU) and the Iranian Students Association (ISA) tried to disrupt the meeting, hurling insults at Dr. Baraheni and CAIFI.

Dr. Baraheni then ended the meeting by answering the charges against him and urging everyone opposing repression in Iran, including the ISU and the ISA, to join together in the fight against it. Ken Kesey added that we are fighting a monster and that in order to win and expose him we should unite calmly, rather than fighting each other.



# CANCER: KILLER FOR PROFIT

By Arnold Weissberg

Human sacrifice.

The words evoke images of ornate temples and religious rituals to please the gods.

Human sacrifice is a thing of the past, isn't it?

The vast number of past victims—perhaps hundreds of thousands—pales when measured against the humans sacrificed—for profit—every year in the United States.

Ancient peoples killed their victims with a variety of weapons. Among today's victims in the United States are the more than 350,000 people who die each year from cancer.

Seven to nine out of every ten cases of human cancer are the result of environmental pollution—something you eat, breathe, drink, or touch.

The vast majority of cancer deaths could be prevented by ending that pollution. None of it serves any purpose except to increase the profits of the corporations that put it there.

The death rate from cancer has accelerated sharply in the last forty years. The 1975 rate was 76 percent higher than the 1933 rate, and nearly 200 percent higher than the 1900 rate.

And it shows no signs of slowing down.

The link between cancer and capitalism's unplanned production and use of industrial products is clear.

As a recent *Militant* article explained, on-the-job cancer takes a high toll. Various estimates indicate that 10 percent of male cancer deaths result from cancer contracted at work.

Many common industrial substances are extremely carcinogenic (cancer-inducing). For example, 50 percent of asbestos insulation workers die of cancer.

The situation gets worse each year as new industrial chemicals come into use. Only about one in four is tested at all for possible carcinogenic properties.

These risks don't affect only the people who work with such chemicals, since many of them wind up in manufactured products that are widely used.

Earlier this year, an Italian researcher discovered that vinylidene chloride—a compound used in plastic food wraps, like Dow Chemical's Saran Wrap—causes cancer in mice.

A government genuinely concerned about the health of workers and consumers would have banned vinylidene chloride. In fact, it might have banned it in 1974, when its chemical cousin vinyl chloride turned out to cause human liver cancer.

But the U.S. government is in virtual collusion with the industries that are responsible for hundreds of thousands of cancer deaths.

So Dow is free to threaten our health every time we wrap up leftovers.

Many people still believe that widely used chemicals—in foods, in pesticides, on the job—are certified as safe by the government.

Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no legal requirement for testing new chemicals before they are used. Production of industrial chemicals increased by almost one-third from 1967 to 1970. But no one had any idea of the possible effects of the new substances.

Vinyl chloride production, for example, increased by 15 percent a year, reaching four billion pounds in 1970.

But it wasn't until 1974 that the first evidence of the link between vinyl chloride and liver cancer became public.

Evidence of the connection had been systematically covered up by the Manufacturing Chemists Association, a trade group responsible for testing the substance.

That body's attitude toward workers' health was graphically demonstrated when a representative opposed a congressional proposal to control vinyl chloride. His concern, he said, was the high costs and possible inflationary pressures of such controls.

Cancer research is the victim of tight-fisted federal budgets. The government sets aside enough money to test only about 150 of the thousands of new substances that appear each year.

Many tests are farmed out to "neutral" scientific organizations, like the Manufacturing Chemists.

Even when the government does spend money on cancer research, the funds are channeled into areas that won't point the finger at corporations.

The federally funded National Cancer Institute (NCI) has a budget this year of some \$815 million. Less than 20 percent goes for studying environmental causes of cancer, despite the fact that the NCI director has agreed with the estimate that 90 percent of cancer is environmentally induced.

More than 10 percent of the budget goes for the study of virus-caused cancer. In addition, the NCI spends another \$6 million developing a low-tar



tobacco—the "safe cigarette" program.

The NCI won't look too deeply into the possible relationship of industrial pollution to cancer, but it is willing to try and find a way to protect the profits of the giant tobacco growers.

Dr. Samuel Epstein, formerly professor of Environmental Health and Human Ecology at Case Western Reserve Medical School in Cleveland, has noted that the National Cancer Advisory Board and the President's Cancer Panel have "disproportionately strong industrial representation . . . in the absence of labor and consumer representation."

The NCI isn't the only government agency that's supposed to investigate and prevent cancer. The others aren't much more effective.

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has the responsibility for keeping carcinogens out of our food.

The FDA was described succinctly by *Business Week*—hardly a radical journal—as "an entrenched bureaucracy notorious for caution and close identification with the industries it regulates. Bold actions can usually be traced to legislative mandates that give the FDA no leeway to stall."

The list of potentially carcinogenic food additives the FDA allowed for years is staggering: nitrites, DES, cyclamates, and aflatoxin to name just a few. When the agency has banned substances, it has done so grudgingly and only after it's been pressured.

A 1958 federal law called the Delaney clause forces the FDA to ban any additive that causes cancer in test animals or humans. Saccharin, for example, was recently banned under this law.

But instead of seeing this rule as valuable safety legislation, the top bureaucrats of the FDA and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have repeatedly attacked it.

Their attitude was clear during the recent flap over saccharin. The FDA tops said that although they thought it was silly to ban the artificial sweetener, they had to anyway because of Delaney.

These statements played right into the hands of the food industry, which has also fought Delaney from the day it passed.

In April 1971 then-FDA Commissioner Charles Edwards told a congressional committee that the newly established National Center for Toxicological Research would "provide FDA with the scientific basis on which the Delaney anti-cancer clause may be changed."

One goal of the new center was to find a "safe" level for many carcinogens. So far, the FDA plan has failed, because there's no such thing as a "safe" level.

Instead of trying to keep carcinogens out of our food, air, and water, agencies like the FDA and the Environmental Protection Agency try to find ways to let them stay in.

The government bureaucrats—like the corporations they serve—use what they call a "benefit risk" analysis. This provides a convenient excuse for allowing almost anything in the environment if the "benefits" outweigh the "risks."

But, as leading environmentalist Barry Commoner pointed out, the risks and benefits must be calculated in terms of their value to society as a whole.

That's not the way the FDA sees it. Like many government regulatory agencies, the FDA is more concerned with economics—meaning profits.

Its calculations don't take into account the enormous social costs of cancer that capitalist society forces onto individuals.

In a 1976 report for the AFL-CIO, Dr. Epstein estimated that the direct costs—for medical care and hospitalization—for cancer treatment exceeded \$500 million in 1969.

He calculated the direct and indirect costs—including loss of earnings—at a staggering \$15 billion for 1971. Of course, government policy makers don't take these facts into account. Nor do they—or could they—calculate the emotional and psychological damage done by cancer. They're interested in the bottom line: profits.

Cancer is another burden capitalism forces working people to bear. It's not a curse. Putting an end to the cancer epidemic will require a complete reorganization of society—putting human health before profits.

# Lessons of Atlanta strike defeat

By Bill O'Kain

ATLANTA—Thirty-one days after they walked out on strike, Atlanta city workers conceded defeat. The strike was broken.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 called the strike on March 28 to demand a fifty-cent-an-hour wage increase.

It was a modest request. Union members have had only one ten-cent-an-hour wage increase in the past thirty months. Wages start at a poverty-level \$6,435 a year, and increase very slowly with accumulated seniority.

Four days after the strike began, Maynard Jackson, the liberal Democratic mayor and "friend of labor," fired more than 1,000 striking workers.

On April 5, an ad hoc coalition led by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce—and including Martin Luther King, Sr., the local chapters of the Urban League, the NAACP, the Baptist Ministerial Alliance, and the City-Wide League of Neighborhoods—issued a statement supporting Jackson's firings and condemning the union.

By the end of the second week of the strike, the city had hired hundreds of scabs. Many of the striking workers began to reapply for their old jobs.

Only a few isolated community organizations and student groups came to the aid of the striking workers.

## No labor support

Particularly scandalous was the role of the Atlanta AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. Aside from a perfunctory telegram from George Meany and a one-minute statement by the president of the Central Labor Council at an AFSCME rally, organized labor gave virtually no public support to the strike.

Morale was low. The union, isolated from its natural allies in the Black community and the labor movement, was forced to reduce its demands.

It offered to end the strike in return for a promise by the city to negotiate seriously and reinstate all striking workers into their former jobs.

Jackson refused. He knew he had Local 1644 by the throat. He issued a non-negotiable ultimatum:

- Workers would be rehired on an individual basis, with no guarantee that there would be enough jobs to go around.
- The union must stop all demonstrations, media campaigns, and ads against the city administration.
- The union must forever give up the right to strike against the city of Atlanta.

By April 18, more than half the strikers had either returned to work or found jobs elsewhere.

Throughout the strike, Jackson successfully used the media, the police, and the courts against the union.

An April 23 rally in support of the strike drew only about 250 people. More than half were supporters from the community.

The next week, the local, after first turning down a recommendation from AFSCME international representatives to go back to work, finally admitted that the strike was lost.

## Source of defeat

Members of Local 1644 want to know where it all went wrong.

Was the strike timely?

Bill O'Kain is a member of the Socialist Workers party and a municipal employee in Atlanta. He is secretary-treasurer of AFSCME Local 1644.



Local 1644 members demonstrate against Maynard Jackson during April strike

Militant/Sidney Finehrsh

Was there something we should have done that we didn't do?

Why did so many union members, including some leading stewards, cross the picket line and return to work?

What is to blame?

Who is to blame?

The source of Local 1644's defeat is not to be found in the day-to-day tactics of the union during the strike. Certainly many things could have been done better. The strike was ill-prepared, with hardly any discussion or organization of the members beforehand.

But these are only symptoms. The underlying cause of this crushing defeat lies much deeper—in the basic political orientation of AFSCME, nationally and locally.

And, unfortunately, there is no sign of a change in this orientation since the Atlanta debacle.

The AFSCME leadership has always relied on so-called friends in the Democratic party as the key to winning concessions. For AFSCME members, the results have been one fiasco after another:

- In 1969 AFSCME supported Sam Massell, a liberal Democrat, for mayor of Atlanta. Massell won, and in 1970 he forced AFSCME city employees into a thirty-seven-day strike. The union won only a minimum salary increase, and in the process lost dues checkoff, which wasn't regained until five years later.
- In 1973 AFSCME went all out in support of Maynard Jackson for mayor. Once in office, Jackson hedged on reinstating dues checkoff. He threatened to lay off several hundred employees in 1975. He proposed forcing city employees to take a five-day unpaid vacation to reduce wages. And he reneged on a promised \$500-a-year across-the-board pay increase in 1976.

• AFSCME worked tirelessly for Democrat Andrew Young in his campaigns for Congress. Young participated in the meeting where the city administration promised city workers a \$500 wage increase. When Jackson reneged, Young remained silent.

In all his years in Congress, not once did Young speak out to support the just demands and actions of Atlanta municipal workers.

• In March and April of this year, even as the strike began, AFSCME supported Democrat John Lewis, former civil rights leader, in his bid for the congressional seat vacated by Young. AFSCME financed and staffed a campaign office to hustle votes for Lewis.

As Jackson moved to break the strike, Lewis proclaimed his neutrality. "Both sides are wrong," he declared.

After Lewis lost the election, he appeared at an AFSCME meeting to claim that he had really sympathized with the strike all along. He was greeted with a loud chorus of boos.

## Workers under attack

Working people all across this country are facing direct attacks on our standard of living. Public employees are among the hardest hit. We are usually paid less than workers in similar jobs in private industry. We are denied the same rights as private workers to organize and strike. And the Democratic and Republican politicians make us the scapegoat for raising taxes.

The AFSCME strike in Atlanta was a response by union members to continual attacks on their standard of living. In order to win, the membership of the union had to be *politically* prepared to fight the battle against the Democratic city administration.

The political orientation of AFSCME does not do that. Rather, it continues to foster false hopes and illusions that workers can make gains by wheeling and dealing inside the two-party system.

To prepare for the battles of the future, one central lesson must be learned. The Democratic and Republican parties are two sides of the same coin—a wooden nickel.

## Parties of the rich

Both parties are controlled by the rich, the corporations, the chambers of commerce. They are the enemies of working people. To continue to be vote-hustlers and "go-fers" for the Democrats will only spell bigger and more brutal defeats for AFSCME.

AFSCME had little credibility trying to mobilize people against Jackson, when only months before they were telling people to vote for him.

AFSCME had told Blacks and other working people to trust Jackson—that he represented their interests. This was never true. Now AFSCME leaders have no explanation of why Jackson turned against them—he just "went bad."

The poisonous logic of being loyal to the Democratic party instead of loyal to working people was shown when prominent Black community figures—who had joined AFSCME in promoting Jackson—backed his attacks on the union.

What was the response of the AFSCME international leadership to Jackson's attacks? More of the same old strategy.

They have placed costly ads in national publications complaining about Jackson and pleading for another Democrat to run for mayor against

Jackson this fall.

Why should AFSCME go to the Democratic party looking for a "friend" and a standard bearer?

Haven't we been kicked around enough by the Democrats?

Why waste all that time, money, and effort?

Instead, AFSCME should run one of its own members for mayor, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Would such an independent labor campaign be unrealistic? Not at all. What *is* unrealistic is to keep paying slavish homage to a political party that you know is going to treat you like dirt.

With an independent labor campaign, AFSCME Local 1644 could determine its own political program. It could take a stand against the antilabor positions of the Democratic and Republican parties. It could say, "No support in any form to these two parties controlled by the rich."

AFSCME could draft a program that would win the support of other workers, both organized and unorganized, and unite them around our common interests as workers.

AFSCME Local 1644 could say to the Black community, "If anyone knows oppression, it's the rank-and-file members of Local 1644. Join with us. Your struggle is our struggle."

Even if such a campaign did not win office in its first try, it would score victories far more important. It would inspire enthusiasm and support throughout the labor movement.

It would educate workers about the real antilabor nature of the Democratic and Republican parties.

It would expose their lies that there is "no money" for city services and city workers.

An independent labor campaign in Atlanta would help build a mass movement to fight for a government—on the city, state, and national levels—that represents workers, not the rich.

Many would agree that such a labor campaign, and an independent labor party, are desirable "sometime." In the meantime they go on searching for a "lesser evil" among the Democrats and Republicans.

The bitter defeat the Democratic party handed Atlanta city workers shows *there is no lesser evil*. The time for independent labor political action is *now*!

If workers in Atlanta draw this lesson, an important break with the dead-end policies of the past can be made. And out of the rubble of this defeated strike, a new stage in the workers' struggle for economic justice can emerge.



# Factional warfare hurts Calif. teachers

By Jeff Mackler

LOS ANGELES—The May 27-29 state convention of the California Federation of Teachers will mark a full year of jurisdictional combat between the 27,000-member CFT and its 150,000-member rival, the California Teachers Association.

During the past year, seventy-three collective bargaining election contests were held between the two groups under the new Educational Employment Relations Act.

Prior to this legislation, California

Jeff Mackler is organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California.

teachers were proscribed from negotiating binding contracts with employers. They were limited to "meet and confer" sessions, sometimes resulting in weak "memoranda of understandings."

The latest statewide election results show the CTA with fifty-four victories, and the CFT with nineteen.

In 655 school districts throughout

the state the CFT either did not have a local unit or was not able to secure the necessary petition signatures (30 percent) to require an election. In these 655 districts a CTA affiliate was automatically certified as the collective bargaining representative.

CFT affiliates were similarly certified in six districts without an election.

While representation remains to be determined in a few districts, it is clear that the CTA now formally represents the great majority of California teachers. Even prior to the collective bargaining elections, 80 percent of California's organized teachers were members of the CTA.

Leaders of the CFT now envision a long struggle to challenge and decertify CTA locals throughout the state.

Experiences in other states demonstrate, however, that real policy differences between the competing teachers unions don't amount to much today. And the number of election turnovers is slight.

Nationally the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have fought to a virtual standoff.

This continued bitter competition between teacher organizations takes place against a background of unprecedented attacks on teachers and public education.

In California, as throughout the nation, thousands of teachers have been laid off, educational programs dismantled, and real wages frozen or cut. Last year alone 6,000 California teachers were fired.

Thus, while millions of dollars are spent by both the AFT and NEA in factional warfare, neither organization is able to defend its members from the concerted attacks on education.

With the cuts in federal and state aid to education engineered by the Democratic and Republican parties, isolated strike actions are less and less able to force local school boards to meet even minimal union demands.

But the strategy of both the AFT and NEA continues to center on electing Democratic party "friends," who will supposedly vote additional funds for the schools.

By AFT and NEA leadership standards, last year's political results should have meant significant gains for

teachers. Democrats, elected with union support, control both houses of Congress, the White House, most state legislatures, and most city governments.

But these same Democrats are leading the cutback assault. Teachers and other public workers have been their number one target. The proposed budget by teacher-backed Jimmy Carter provides less money for schools (in terms of real purchasing power) than Republican President Ford's did!

Teachers will not be able to counter this growing attack on themselves and public education without reversing the disastrous policy of relying on Democratic and Republican politicians.

At last year's CFT convention, the Hayward Federation of Teachers introduced a resolution urging the AFT to encourage initiatives toward independent labor political action. About 30 percent of the delegates voted for this resolution.

Last year's experience with the policy of lesser-evil politics makes a full discussion of labor relying on its own independent political strength essential for this convention.

## ...United Auto Workers convention

Continued from back page

selves." He extolled the virtues of "lean and efficient government"—watchwords of the cutback drive.

But Carter failed to mention that his administration is handing out a record \$120 billion to the Pentagon and arms profiteers.

Carter's payoff to the UAW officialdom for their continued backing had been announced just before the convention. He named the UAW's outgoing president, Leonard Woodcock, chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China with the rank of ambassador.

Convention press coverage made much of the criticism by UAW officials of Carter's "gas guzzler" tax and small-car rebate plan. In this instance, Woodcock and his successor, Douglas Fraser, prefer to line up with the owners of "their" industry at General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, whose highest profits come from their biggest, most inefficient cars.

Sen. Edward Kennedy was another major capitalist politician who put in an appearance here this week. He addressed a "tribute to Leonard Woodcock," whom he dubbed one of the "giants of the American labor movement."

In return, Kennedy, a millionaire who has never done an honest day's toil, was voted an honorary member of the UAW.

### Little discussion

Discussion by convention delegates was not extensive. Mainly, it was sandwiched in the interludes between guest speakers.

Some delegates expressed uneasiness about the union's close identification with the Democratic administration. As one put it, "We're friends with Jimmy Carter, but let's not let him misuse us."

Several delegates complained about the time wasted on speeches by visiting dignitaries, and the reading of lengthy resolutions on "The International Scene" and "UAW Program for the Better Life in a Better World." Why take up time with this rhetoric, they asked, when burning problems facing workers were going undiscussed?

Such resolutions, with their abstract commitment to social progress, serve a real purpose for the bureaucrats who control the UAW. In the name of "social unionism," the UAW officialdom gives lip service to broader social and political goals in the hope that



Militant/Henry Snipper

this will cover up their failure to fight around the workers' immediate problems.

When it comes to defending the workers' interests, they refuse to mobilize the union's immense power in independent struggles beginning on the shop floor and culminating in labor political action against the capitalist two-party system.

One of the shabbiest aspects of this brand of "social unionism" is the cynical manipulation of progressive sentiment. An example from the UAW convention was the civil rights issue.

The UAW misleaders fail to champion Black equality on the job and in the union. The convention delegates were overwhelmingly white, even though several hundred thousand UAW members are Black. Yet a "Social Justice" award was piously given to Rosa Parks—the Black woman whose refusal to move to the back of a Montgomery, Alabama, bus in 1955 sparked the southern civil rights movement.

### Union democracy

The UAW bureaucracy tries to give the appearance of open, democratic leadership. Gangsterism, physical in-

timidation, and other crude methods are generally absent.

But the apparatus headquartered in Solidarity House in Detroit wields an awesome power through the international representatives, the regional directors, and the local machines. Those who try to buck the international are wooed and won over or isolated and victimized.

Many UAW members would like to open up the possibility of electing more responsive leadership by changing the way top officers are elected. Thus, some three dozen locals submitted resolutions in favor of electing international officers by a referendum vote of the members.

Some of those pushing for the referendum had followed closely the experiences of the United Steelworkers, whose recent referendum election saw a serious challenge mounted by Steelworkers Fight Back on behalf of Ed Sadlowski for president of the union.

Equally aware of this potential in the UAW, the Woodcock regime moved to nip the referendum movement in the bud. Woodcock blasted it in his key-

note speech as a less democratic method and demagogically warned of "outside interference" and costly litigation.

These arguments were borrowed from Meany and outgoing USWA President I. W. Abel, two exponents of "business unionism" with whom Woodcock & Co. have more in common than is generally recognized.

Only resolutions acceptable to the top UAW officials were allowed to reach the floor. So the Constitution Committee prepared a special report proposing that the delegates "reaffirm the UAW's historic convention system for making decisions and the election of officers."

Only three proreferendum delegates were able to get the floor to oppose the resolution.

Then discussion was cut off, even though many more delegates wanted to speak for the referendum method. Several hundred delegates voted against the resolution to continue the present system.

### Rejoining the AFL-CIO?

The convention voted to authorize the international executive board to convene a special convention (with the same delegates) next fall to consider whether to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO. It's been almost ten years since the UAW pulled out of the labor federation.

Newly elected President Douglas Fraser reportedly favors rejoining. Of the top officials, Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey is said to be opposed.

A "Fraser Team" was elected by acclamation after several symbolic opposing candidates withdrew part-way through the roll-call vote.

Henry "Hank" Wilson, a Black delegate from the big Ford Local 600 in Dearborn, Michigan, nominated himself. A backer of the administration on most questions, Wilson said he wished to protest the absence of Blacks in the UAW leadership. Only two of twenty-six members of the international executive board, he said, are Black.

Wilson said, "In the Detroit area there are 150,000 Black auto workers, and we don't have our fair share."

At the time Wilson dropped out, he had not received any votes.

With only a smattering of opposition, the convention decided to increase the salaries of the top officers. Fraser will get \$53,800 a year—up from \$43,550—plus various fringe benefits and expense accounts.

# 1,300 rally in Minn. to defend gay rights

By Koreen Phelps

MINNEAPOLIS—The largest gay rights demonstration ever in this city took place May 21 at the Minnesota Fruit and Produce Company. Gay groups called the demonstration in response to a visit by Anita Bryant, leader of the drive to repeal a gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida.

Bryant came here with a fourteen-piece band to dedicate a new building for the fruit company. She was met by 1,300 gay rights supporters.

At a rally, speakers stressed the importance of a united effort to gain civil rights for gays.

Demonstrators maintained high spirits despite torrents of rain and a handful of bigots, who tried to create a disturbance.

The action came after another defeat for a state gay civil rights bill. Gays in Minneapolis and St. Paul have won city ordinances banning discrimination in employment and public accommodations. However, gays have no protection outside of the Twin Cities area.

Karen Clark, a member of the Lesbian Feminist Organizing Committee, told the *Militant* that Anita Bryant claimed some credit for helping to defeat the Minnesota gay rights bill. Clark said, "This day is a visible sign

of self-respect and outrage on the part of the lesbian and gay community in the face of organized bigotry by right-wing forces working against human rights."

## Protest hits court ruling

By Ann Wilcox

WASHINGTON—Some 250 demonstrators from up and down the East Coast rallied here May 21 at the Supreme Court. They protested last year's high court decision upholding Virginia's sodomy law.

The march and rally, organized by the May 21 Gay Action Coalition, demanded full democratic rights for gays and expressed solidarity with the Dade County, Florida, ordinance.

The crowd heard speeches by Frank Kameny and other local gay activists; and by Cheryl Adams, head of the lesbian rights committee of the New York National Organization for Women; and a telegram from Rep. Edward Koch (D-N.Y.).

today. Black unionists can play a unique role in bringing it about.

To do that, however, Black trade unionists must rely on their own strength. A big step in that direction would be to organize rank-and-file Black caucuses to fight for the needs of Blacks on and off the job.

From such a position of strength, Black workers could form alliances with other minority workers and militant white workers—such as those in the Steelworkers Fight Back movement—rather than adapting to the racist labor bureaucracy and seeking favors from Democratic party politicians.

Such coalitions could wield even greater power in the fight to scrap the policy of union-management collaboration, to win rank-and-file control of the unions, to end race and sex discrimination in the unions and on the job, and to defend Black rights in all of society.

They could also begin to put into practice the CBTU's 1974 resolution on political action by running labor candidates for office against Democrats and Republicans alike.

Organizing such a movement is "the challenge ahead for Black workers."

And it's not just presidents. Congress and the courts have done their bit to back up attacks on democratic rights, in the interests of imperialist wars and private profits. While the capitalist politicians in the White House schemed to crush the Vietnamese revolution, the capitalist politicians in Congress voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. And while Democrats and Republicans call for "law and order," the courts give them back the gas chamber, the electric chair, and the firing squad.

Nixon also talked about his use of the Internal Revenue Service to target dissenters for harassment. "But let's get away from this hypocrisy . . .," he whined, arguing that Democrats did it too.

That point is not being lost on millions of viewers. But they are not taking it quite the way Nixon might like.

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**NUCLEAR POWER—DANGER TO HUMANITY.** Speakers: Richard Grossman, Gail Daneker, members of Clamshell Alliance & Environmentalists for Full Employment; Gordon Fox, SWP. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## DALLAS

**WHAT IS THE SWP?** A panel discussion. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## HOUSTON

**INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES.** Every Friday, 7 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Aup: SWP. For more information call (713) 697-5543 or 526-1082.

## KANSAS CITY, MO.

**TESTIMONY: JUSTICE VS. J.P. STEVENS.** A film. Speakers: Alice Senturia, national representative, Organizing Dept. Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Fri., June 3, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

**COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY AND MENTAL ILLNESS.** Speakers: Roxanna Hand, Pasadena Radical Therapy Collective; Milt Wolpin, prof., Psychology Dept., Univ. of Southern Calif. and member of SWP; Scott Scribner, Fullerton Theological Seminary. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## MIAMI

**THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS.** Speaker: Joe Kear, SWP; others. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**CAMPAIGN PICNIC.** Mon., May 30, 12-5 p.m. Lake Nokomis, Minn. Donation: \$2. Aup: Minneapolis/St. Paul SWP & Univ. of Minn. YSA. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 822-0317 or 822-0237.

**THE POLITICS OF JAZZ: A RADICAL ANALYSIS.** Speaker: August Nimtz, asst professor of political science and Afro-American studies, Univ. of Minn., SWP. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## NEW ORLEANS

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES.** Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Aup: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

# ...NOW

Continued from page 7

selves. In conjunction with legislative lobbying and other tactics, perhaps yes. But the SWP tactic of the rally/demonstration followed by no action from the powers-that-be is designed to frustrate the 'masses', to show them that the 'establishment' does not respond, and to prepare them for the 'revolution.'

As Crowder explains in the 300 words permitted her in the same newsletter:

"We think public activities like teach-ins, rallies, demonstrations, and conferences are necessary to help convince larger and larger numbers of women and our allies to join in our fight to win our rights. I think it is these kinds of activities that have helped N.O.W. grow."

Kiefer can distort the SWP's motives but can she answer facts? Weren't the demonstrations and teach-ins by women in the early 1970s essential to creating an atmosphere that forced the Supreme Court to legalize abortion, forced Congress to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, and won gains in other areas? Or, "by definition," did none of this happen?

Kiefer's hostility toward mobilizing women in action reflects confidence in the very "powers-that-be" who are attacking women's rights today. The logic of this misplaced confidence is to avoid issues like abortion.

At the April conference national leaders put forward this same perspective. Their Political Action Committee resolution, for example, orients

## NEW YORK

**HEALTH CARE CUTS & LAYOFFS: WHAT CAN WE DO?** Speakers: Vangie Eidsvik, delegate at Beth-Israel Hospital for District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, SWP; Elia Reyes, delegate at Beth-Israel, District 1199; Ramón Jiménez, cochairperson, City-wide Community Coalition. Thurs., June 2, 7:30 p.m. St. Marks Church, 2nd Ave. & 10th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Chelsea & Lower East Side Militant Forums. For more information call (212) 260-6400 or 989-2731.

**THE QUEBEC INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Representatives from the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. Milbank Chapel, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 120th St. between Amsterdam & Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Thursdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Aup: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON BASICS OF MARX AND LENIN.** Thursdays, June 2, June 9, June 16, June 23, June 30, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$.75. Aup: SWP & YSA. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## PHOENIX

**VIETNAM: REBUILDING THE DEVASTATION. AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Ron Ridenour, recently returned from Vietnam. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

## ST. PAUL

**GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON NATIVE AMERICANS.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## SAN ANTONIO

**WHY SOCIALISTS SUPPORT WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Speaker: Jo Della Giustina, SWP. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

## TACOMA, WASH.

**CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: David Zilly, SWP candidate for mayor of Tacoma; Willie Mae Reid, SWP 1976 vice-presidential candidate. Sat., May 28. Social hour: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 5502 S. 12th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign and YSA. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN SHOWDOWN IN DADE COUNTY: THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS.** Speakers: Joe Stewart, D.C. Gay Socialist Group; Leon Rattner, SWP; Jim Zais, president, D.C. GAA. Fri., June 3, 8:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard St. NW. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.: GEORGIA AVE. CRISIS IN ZAIRE.** Speaker: Ollie Bivens, SWP. Fri., June 3, 8 p.m. Banneker Center, 2500 Georgia Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: SWP. For more information call (202) 265-7708.

NOW toward deeper involvement in the two-party system. This approach turns women away from mobilizing their independent power.

The NOW leaders tried to choke opposition to their perspective by spreading anti-SWP slanders and passing the motion against socialists.

With attacks on women's rights on the rise, we need a strong, independent national feminist organization more than ever. NOW's unity and power can only be built on the cornerstone of non-exclusion and democratic decision making.

# ...Davis

Continued from page 9

"We have no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, just permanent issues. If we can get help going toward solving an issue, then we're willing to be part of a coalition.

"But we're not out to support someone just for the sake of supporting someone."

One issue still outstanding is Black representation within the union. "Fighting for at least a representative number of Blacks in the union," Davis said, "doesn't require winning any election. That can be done district by district, local by local.

"We were in business before the campaign, and we'll be in business until the last vestige of racial discrimination is eliminated. So it looks like we're in business for a while."

# ...CBTU

Continued from page 8

defense of school busing for desegregation, in support of women's rights, and in opposition to white-minority rule in southern Africa.

What's needed is the systematic organization of this potential power into a campaign of action on the job, in the unions, and in society at large to advance the interests of Black workers.

It was the powerful upsurge of rank-and-file workers—many of them Black—that organized and consolidated the industrial unions of the CIO in the 1930s and forced the employers to recognize them.

It was the massive movement of Black workers and students during the 1950s and 1960s that ended the system of legalized segregation in the South.

This mass movement of Black communities across the country stood powerfully behind the demands of Black unionists for an end to racial discrimination on the job and in the unions. It was this mass movement that forced some long-overdue changes.

Such a movement is urgently needed

# ...Nixon

Continued from page 24

agree" that it was "morally wrong to be there." He needed to gag the antiwar movement to carry out the war.

Defending the "divine right" of heads of state to do as they please is a throwback to the Middle Ages. But Nixon is just ripping aside the veil from the real drift of the capitalist government in the United States.

Was Nixon the first president to believe the executive branch is above the law and the wishes of the American people? What about Franklin D. Roosevelt's internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II? Kennedy's assassination plots and invasion of Cuba? Johnson's escalation of the Vietnam War? And Carter's cover-up of CIA bribes?



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# THE MILITANT

## Denied new trial

# Wilmington 10: still no justice

By Arnold Weissberg

The Wilmington Ten still aren't free. Despite admissions by the most important prosecution witnesses that their trial testimony was invented by the district attorney, the nine Black men now in jail will remain there.

Judge George Fountain found there had been "no substantial denial" of the ten's constitutional rights at their 1972 trial. His ruling came at the close of a two-week hearing for a new trial.

Convicted of fire bombing a white-owned grocery store in Wilmington, North Carolina, Rev. Ben Chavis of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, eight other Black men, and Anne Shepard, a white social worker, received long prison terms, totaling 282 years. Shepard, who got 10 years, is free on parole.

Chief defense attorney James Ferguson charged that "a great injustice has been done."

In a phone interview, Imani Kazana, coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, said that she "wasn't surprised" by the ruling. "We didn't expect a fair hearing in North Carolina," she said.

The charges against the ten stem from a period of racist attacks on the Wilmington Black community, following school desegregation in 1971. Chavis came to Wilmington seeking to build support for desegregation. He became known as a civil rights activist.

On the night of February 6, 1971, white terrorists roamed the Black community, firing into the Gregory Congregational Church.

According to the testimony of Rev. Eugene Templeton, Chavis was watching TV with him there.

That was the night the grocery was fire bombed.

No arrests were made for a while. Finally, the cops picked up seventeen-year-old Allen Hall and charged him with the crime.

Hall swore that Chavis and the others had participated in the bombing with him, and got off with a light sentence.

Hall now admits that Chavis and the other nine had nothing to do with the crime. He said at the hearing that the cops told him they "didn't want me, they wanted Ben Chavis."

Hall also described how prosecutor Jay Stroud took him to a beach motel and wrote out his testimony for him. He went along, he said, in return



Wilmington Ten: Judge says 'No substantial denial' of their constitutional rights.

for a shorter sentence and a few small favors from Stroud.

Another key prosecution witness at the original trial was Jerome Mitchell. Mitchell, who was sixteen in 1972, told the hearing that Stroud offered to get him out of a thirty-year jail term in "six or seven months" in return for his testimony against the Wilmington Ten.

Stroud also took him to the beach motel and thoroughly coached him for a week before the trial. Stroud admitted buying a minibike for Eric Junious, then thirteen years old. Although Stroud denies that the minibike was a bribe, Junious testified that "I knew what they wanted me to do" at the trial.

The two-week hearing made clear a pattern of threats, bribes, and promises by the prosecution in manufacturing evidence against the Wilmington Ten.

The defense case was so strong that even the *New York Times* was forced to editorialize in favor of a new trial. "The refusal of [Judge Fountain] to grant a new trial . . . is even more astonishing than the facts elicited at his hearing," the *Times* editors wrote May 21.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism released a statement calling for the immediate

release of the Wilmington Ten. NSCAR pointed out that keeping them in jail "is only a form of intimidation to others who desire to bring about needed changes in the school systems of this country."

Imani Kazana said that Fountain's ruling wouldn't make the defense give up. "It just gives us more energy and more reason to push harder," she said.

The case of the Wilmington Ten has attracted international attention. Novelist James Baldwin wrote an open letter to newly inaugurated President Jimmy Carter last January, asking him to intercede in the case. In May, demonstrators in Paris chained themselves to the fence of the American embassy in protest over the case. An East German film crew covered the hearing.

The defense committee, Kazana said, will now turn its energies to pressuring the federal government. A federal grand jury looked into the case earlier this year, but the Justice Department has taken no action so far.

Fountain's ruling will be appealed in the North Carolina courts. In addition, a motion to have the earlier conviction set aside will be pressed. The motion was filed in federal court sixteen months ago.

# UAW convention: fanfare for Carter drowns out problems of auto workers

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES—United Auto Workers union officials ran a tightly controlled five-day convention here. It ended May 20, a day early.

Praise for President Carter and backing for administration policies dominated the gathering. This lavish support for Carter comes at a time when other top union officials, even including AFL-CIO President George Meany, are criticizing Carter's anti-labor moves.

The convention saw little discussion of the most pressing problems facing UAW members in the United States and Canada, especially the problems of the production workers, the less skilled, and those discriminated against because they are Black, Latino, or female.

The only disputed issue of substance was a proposal to elect officers by membership referendum, rather than at the conventions.

With the Manny Harmon band playing "Happy Days Are Here Again," Carter entered the convention center and received a well-orchestrated welcome from the 2,786 delegates and several thousand convention guests.

The president emphasized the theme that "we must work together" to pass his proposed legislation on inflation and unemployment, energy, Social Security, tax and welfare "reform," and health care.

## Cutbacks

While claiming that his program is in the interest of "people with modest means," as opposed to "those who are rich enough to hire their own lobbyist in Washington," Carter advised his audience not to expect too much too fast. "Nothing good comes quickly or easily," he said.

He hinted at further cutbacks in social services by decrying "handouts to those who can take care of them-

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## Demand right to vote

LOS ANGELES—"Let the members who are paying our way here, and paying your way, have a right to vote on their international officers," urged Wayne Medders, a delegate to the UAW convention from Local 1250, Ford Motor Company in Cleveland.

"We've always supported 'one man one vote' for Congress," Medders said. "And now you're trying to say that the members back in the plant don't have the intelligence to vote for their international officers. I'd like to ask just one question: Why?"

David Benjamin, president of Local 659 at Chevrolet Metal Fabricating in Flint, Michigan, told the delegates, "If you have any doubt

about it, the next time you have a local election just add this question. I'll bet you'd be surprised—the overwhelming majority in the plants are in favor of the referendum vote. . . ."

James Robenson from Local 72 at American Motors in Kenosha, Wisconsin, observed, "Most delegates coming here . . . are elected after saying, 'Oh yes, I'm for one man one vote.' But one week later they forget where they came from. I would like to see one man one vote throughout the UAW."

The three were the only delegates allowed to speak in favor of the referendum election before discussion was shut off.

—J.B.